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AUTHOR McBeath, Jerry; And Others
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ABSTRACT

This study guide and workbook is intended to be used by students in conjunction with two books: "Alaska State Government and Politics" and "Alaska's Urban and Rural Governments." Each of the 15 units in the guide contains four sections. (1) The learning objectives tell the students what they should have learned after reading and studying a chapter. (2) The overview and synopsis are summaries that alert students to themes and issues addressed in the chapter. (3) The glossary contains key terms and concepts that are important for understanding the subject. (4) True/false, multiple choice, and essay questions test comprehension. The correct answers are printed at the end of the guide. Topics covered in the units include Alaska's political history, Alaska's constitution, intergovernmental relations, political culture, elections, political parties, interest groups, public opinion, the Alaska press, the Alaska legislature, the governor, the administrative system, the state courts, local government in urban Alaska, and local government in rural Alaska. (JB)

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STUDY GUIDE AND WORKBOOK

ALASKA GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

Jerry McBeath

with assistance of Nicole Hallingstad and Linda Ilgenfritz

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STUDY GUIDE AND WORKBOOK

A L A S K A G O V E R N M E N T A N D P O L I T I C S

Jerry McBeath

with assistance of Nicole Hallingstad and Linda Ilgenfritz

Department of Political Science, University of Alaska Fairbanks

June 1988

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INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY GUIDE AND WORKBOOK

This Study Guide and Workbook is intended for use in connection with two books: Alaska State Government and Politics, edited by McBeath and Morehouse, and Alaska's Urban and Rural Governments, by Morehouse, McBeath, and Leask. For most students, a useful approach will be to 1) look through the Study Guide before reading each section of the text, 2) read the text chapter(s) carefully, making notes and highlighting important material as you proceed, and then 3) return to the Study Guide to work through the various exercises.

Each unit in this guide contains the following sections: learning objectives, overview and synopsis of chapters, glossary of terms, true-false, multiple-choice, and essay questions.

LEARNING OBJECTIVES. These tell you what you should have learned after reading and studying a chapter. They should help answer the questions, "What am I supposed to be learning?"

OVERVIEW AND SYNOPSIS. These are summaries that will alert you to themes and issues addressed in the chapter. The synopsis is short and does not pursue ideas in depth; that is the function of the chapter in the text. After reading the synopsis you will sense how the chapter fits together and what major subjects will be covered.

GLOSSARY. This contains key terms and concepts which are important to understanding the subject (as well as the vocabulary of political science). After reading each chapter you should be able to define and state the significance of each term and concept. (The glossary at the end of Alaska State Government and Politics contains definitions of most terms.)

QUESTIONS. Each unit in the Study Guide has three different types of questions: true-false, multiple-choice, and essay. After you've tried out the questions, you can compare your answers with the correct ones printed at the end of the guide.

INSTRUCTIONAL UNIT #1

Alaska's Political History

Learning Objectives

- Understand how the first Western contact with Alaska occurred, including:
 - o Exploration of Pacific Northwest by European powers
 - o Role of fur trade in Alaska exploration
 - o Management of colony through Russian-American Company
- Be able to tell why the United States purchased Alaska from Russia in 1867
- Describe the first, "accidental and casual" method of governing Alaska
- Know what the First Organic Act of 1884 provided for
- Understand the function of a non-voting delegate to Congress, and his role in representing Alaska's interests
- Be able to describe the important measures used to govern Alaska in the 1890s and 1900s
- Explain the provisions of the Second Organic Act of 1912 which provided for the territorial legislature
- Consider the role global military conflicts have had on Alaska's political development in the 20th century
- Know what the initial actions of the statehood movement were
- Overall, understand the relationship historically between natural resource development and supply of government services to Alaska residents
- Overall, know what attitudes developed toward Alaska during the colonial and territorial period by Congress, the executive, and the American public
- Overall, be able to analyze the ways in which Alaska was treated differently from other territories, and for what reasons

Overview

Alaska is unique among the American states. It was the only American land area ever under Russian control. After it was purchased, for nearly two decades, it was a stepchild of the U.S. military and the Customs whose administration was lackluster. Then Alaska was ruled under the laws of other states, and under limited territorial powers, until statehood in 1959.

The state's historical development followed these five historical stages:

1. Precontact--the history of Alaska Natives before contact with the West in 1741
2. The Russian period--1725-1867
3. American exploration--1867-1884
4. American colonial rule--1884-1912
5. The territorial period--1912-1959

Synopsis: Alaska's Political History (based on Claus Naske's chapter, "Toward Statehood," in ALASKA STATE GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS)

Precontact Period

Alaska Natives came to Alaska from Asia, across the land bridge once joining the continents of North America and Asia. Natives pursued species of land and water--fish, whales, walruses, mammoths--around which they developed their economic and belief systems. We know little about their government, but when Caucasians arrived they encountered Native communities.

The Russian Period

Western contact with Alaska began in the 18th century. During an expansionist phase of Russian civilization, the Tzar commenced exploration of Siberia, which established that the continents of North America and Asia were no longer joined. The Tzar's agent, now called the "discoverer of Alaska," was a Dane--Vitus Bering.

Russia was eager to exploit the trade in fur-bearing animals, and this objective explained the Russian settlement of Alaska. Traders transformed the Aleutians and Southeast Alaska, established trading posts, and intermingled with Native Alaskans. The agency of the relationship was the Russian American Company, a private but state-sponsored trading venture.

By the mid-1800s, Russia had depleted fur bearing species. Defeat in wars, weakness domestically, and the aggressive expansion of the United States combined to make Russia interested in selling Alaska to the United States, for \$7 million, in 1867.

American Exploration

America's attitude toward Alaska was ambivalent. Secretary of State Seward saw possibilities, but the engine of government responded slowly. The first 20 years of Alaska's association were a period of neglect.

First, the Army ruled, then the Customs Service. Repeated complaints from residents brought in the Navy. But Alaska protests fell on deaf ears until gold was discovered--first in Juneau, then in the Klondike and by 1898 in Nome. With resource wealth, Congress responded to Alaska concerns and provided some government.

American Colonial Rule

After being bounced from the Army to the Treasury and Navy Departments, Alaska was allowed slightly more control of its government when Congress ended Naval rule in 1884 and passed the First Organic Act. The Organic Act of 1884 gave Alaska some U.S. legal security, and a governor appointed by the President. The laws of Oregon were applied to the region, but it was not yet classified as a territory. Mining laws were in force, however, and mineral exploration proceeded. Congress frequently alluded to Alaska's distance from the other states, the fact that it was non-contiguous, Alaska's sparse population, and of course Alaska's harsh climate--as reasons to treat it differently from other regions. Finally, in 1906, under pressure from Alaska residents, Congress allowed Alaskans to select a non-voting delegate to Congress. The third delegate was former

Alaska district judge, James Wickersham, who campaigned vigorously for a territorial government for Alaska.

The Territorial Period

The inability of Alaskans to influence their fate, and arrange for local affairs such as schooling, led to increased pressure on Congress. In 1912 Congress passed the Second Organic Act which made Alaska a territory of the United States. The chief result of this legislation was that Alaska could have a territorial legislature which met biennially, in the capital, Juneau.

The next 40 years were a period of some conflict between territorial and federal forces, but the battle to integrate Alaska into the American political community had been won. World War II and the onset of the Cold War increased the value of Alaska to U.S. security. Although the idea of statehood was present in some of Alaska's political elite at the turn of the century, the movement developed after World War II, and picked up steam in the 1950s.

Glossary

Alaska Statehood Committee	Penal Code	First Organic Act
Great Northern Expedition	blanket primary	"Insular cases"
incorporated territories	delegate represent	Second Organic Act
New Archangel	Russian-American Co.	

True-False Questions

1. Alaska was governed by the Navy, Army, and Customs Department before it became a U.S. territory.
2. Alaska became a territory in 1884.
3. Russia developed its first permanent settlement in Sitka in 1784.
4. America's appetite for Alaska was whetted by the ideology of manifest destiny.
5. Alaska is the second non-contiguous territory of the United States.
6. Unlike the Philippines and Puerto Rico, Alaska and Hawaii were incorporated territories and eligible for statehood.
7. The first capital of Alaska under United States rule was in Sitka.
8. The Organic Act of 1884 reserved the settlement of Native lands claims for future legislation of Congress.
9. Gold was discovered first in Alaska near Nome, in 1896.
10. Communities in Alaska were incorporated into cities for the first time in 1900.
11. Congress passed legislation authorizing Alaskans to elect a delegate in 1915.
12. James Wickersham was Alaska's first delegate to Congress.
13. Alaska (Cession) Day is celebrated every October 18.
14. Alaska's first legislature had a Senate of 8 members and a House of 16.
15. Alaska was the only territory whose fish and game resources were regulated by the federal government.

16. The first act of the territorial legislature gave the franchise to Alaska Natives.

17. James Wickersham introduced the first Alaska statehood bill in 1916.

18. The University of Alaska was established by the legislature in 1917 as the Alaska Agricultural College and School of Mines.

19. Members of the Constitutional Convention of 1955 entrusted the legislature and governor with implementing the new constitution.

20. The first vote for statehood took place in 1952.

21. When military activities in Alaska declined after 1943 so did Alaska's strategic military position.

22. Alaska was the only territory not authorized to create its own judicial system.

23. Governor Gruening and the territorial legislature worked smoothly together to expand the authority of the governor's office.

Multiple-Choice Questions

1. The first Russians in Alaska were most interested in Alaska's:
a. gold
b. oil
c. furs
d. climate

2. Russian-American Company units in Alaska were located in:
a. Fairbanks, Juneau, and Atka
b. Sitka, Kodiak, and Unalaska
c. Atka, Ketchikan, and Manley Hot Springs
d. Sitka, Juneau, and Anchorage

3. The major reason Russia sold Alaska to the U.S. in 1867 was because:
a. the territory was too distant to administer efficiently
b. Russia was bankrupt and needed the money to fight the Crimean War
c. local rebellions took too many Russian lives
d. Russia increasingly saw Alaska as an economic and political liability

4. The United States purchased Alaska for all the following reasons EXCEPT:
a. to give the U.S. an entry in the Northwest for trade with the Pacific and Asia
b. to help in the annexation of British Columbia
c. to gain a strategic launching pad for a future invasion of Siberia
d. friendship for Russia

5. For its first two decades as a U.S. possession, federal policy toward Alaska was best described as one of:
a. protection
b. economic development
c. neglect
d. discrimination

6. The status of Alaska between 1867 and 1912 most resembled:
- a territory
 - a state
 - a customs district
 - an independent country
7. Alaska's Organic Act of 1884:
- treated Alaska more as a territory than as a colony
 - provided an adequate first stage government for Alaska
 - gave Alaska only a shadow of civil government
 - was a typical legislative means to administer new territories
8. Most Alaskans in the early 1900s:
- demanding that Alaska become an independent country
 - wanted Alaska to become a state
 - opposed statehood for Alaska
 - wanted Congress to support improved government services for Alaska
9. President Taft proposed for Alaska a:
- territorial form of government
 - state form of government
 - colonial form of government
 - commission form of government, like that in the Philippines
10. Restrictions on Alaska's territorial government included all the following EXCEPT:
- it had no authority to control fish and game resources
 - it could not set up territorial courts
 - it could not tax property or income in the territory
 - it had no voting representation in Congress
11. Alaska's four judicial divisions were headquartered in:
- Fairbanks, Anchorage, Nome, and Juneau
 - Sitka, Kodiak, Eagle, and Valdez
 - Valdez, Copper Center, Ketchikan, and Anchorage
 - Fairbanks, Juneau, Barrow, and Kodiak
12. As territorial governor (from 1939 to 1953), Ernest Gruening was all of the following EXCEPT:
- architect of the modern taxation system of Alaska
 - advocate for Alaska in Washington, D.C., with the ear of the President
 - supporter of statehood
 - strong defender of the state legislature and bipartisanship
13. Arguments against granting statehood to Alaska included all the following EXCEPT:
- the population was too sparse and migratory
 - the economy was underdeveloped
 - Alaskans weren't capable of self-government
 - Alaska was too remote to become a state

Essay Questions

1. Examine those aspects of Alaska's history as a Russian and American colony (and territory) that have an impact on Alaska government and politics today. Would you say that the impact of historical factors and conditions is substantially different from that in other states, such as California and Hawaii? Why (or why not)?

2. Analyze the association between discovery and exploitation of resources (such as fur bearing species, minerals) in Alaska and development of governmental institutions.

3. Discuss the differences in political development of late and early American territories. To what extent do international pressures and the characteristics of America's global position help explain this difference?

INSTRUCTIONAL UNIT #2

Alaska's ConstitutionLearning Objectives

- Understand the purpose of a state constitution, in the context of the U.S. federal system;
- Be able to explain the historical background to writing a constitution in Alaska, including the Progressive movement;
- Know why the Alaska constitution was written before statehood;
- Know the means used to select delegates to the constitutional convention, and be able to assess their representativeness;
- Be familiar with the basic mechanics of creating the constitution: the role of consultants, site selection, committees;
- Understand how much support there was for ratification of the constitution in Alaska and the United States;
- Be able to identify basic popular rights protected in the constitution, and point out areas where Alaska's guarantees are larger than those of the other states;
- Know how the constitution can be amended, and how often this has happened since statehood;
- Identify the main powers of the legislative, executive, and judicial branches of government;
- Be able to distinguish those aspects of Alaska's three branches of government which are different from what one sees in other states;
- Identify the constitutional authority for local government in the constitution;
- Be able to point out the way Alaska's treatment of natural resources, constitutionally, differs from that in other states; and
- Be able to evaluate the effectiveness of the constitution in serving Alaska's needs.

Overview

This unit describes the development of the Alaska state constitution, and it examines in general terms the major constitutional provisions. Four main topics are considered:

- Constitutional preliminaries: the context of constitution building in Alaska, preparation for the convention, drafting the constitution, and the ratification process;
- Rights and popular controls: the provisions of the constitution which provide guarantees for popular rights popular control over government through the initiative, referendum, and recall, and constitutional amendments;
- Structure of government: the provisions establishing and outlining the powers and activities of the executive, legislative, and judicial branches of government; and
- Functions and responsibilities: special constitutional provisions on natural resources, health and welfare, and revenues.

Synopsis: (Based on Victor Fischer's chapter, "Alaska's Constitution," in the text. Gordon Harrison's A Citizen's Guide to the Constitution of Alaska is highly recommended reading for this unit.)

Constitutional Preliminaries

Constitutions design the structure of government and assign and limit powers. In the United States, government and politics are conducted under the American Constitution, and each of the 50 states has a state constitution. The state charters typically describe the powers of the three branches of government and the checks and balances which keep government within limits. Also, state charters prescribe certain rights enjoyed by citizens, which government may not abrogate.

The Alaska constitution was drafted 180 years after the first state constitutions were written. State constitutions went through several phases--first attempting to limit executive power and then legislative authority. One trend over time was that state constitutions grew longer and more detailed. In the 1950s, a new constitutional reform movement began, and this influenced strongly the way the Alaska constitution was written. In particular, the reform movement influenced the length of the constitution, unity of executive power, and local government powers.

Leaders of the statehood movement called for a constitutional convention in the belief that by writing a "model constitution" Alaska's campaign for statehood would be helped. The territorial legislature designed a system to select convention delegates that was the most representative ever used in the territory. The 55 delegates selected in 1955 came from all regions of the state and a variety of occupations; most had political experience. William Egan presided over the convention, which was held from November 1955 to February 1956 on the University of Alaska campus in Fairbanks.

Reports provided by the Public Administration Service and advice of knowledgeable consultants aided the deliberations of the delegates, as did the National Municipal League's model state constitution. By working through committees, delegates were able to give detailed study to constitutional provisions. All but one of the delegates signed the charter on February 6, 1956, whereupon copies were distributed throughout the territory. The ratification vote occurred on the ballot along with the issue of abolishing fish traps and the Alaska-Tennessee Plan. This was a proposal to send two "senators" and one "representative" to Washington, D.C. to lobby for statehood. Voters approved the constitution by a margin of two to one. Within two years, Congress had passed statehood legislation and President Eisenhower had signed the bill. The state constitution took effect on January 3, 1959.

Rights and Popular Controls

The Alaska constitution provides the standard protections of personal rights for citizens. It also has strong protections of due process rights, and it defines, through an amendment, a right of privacy.

The state constitution spells out qualifications for voting. In amendments to Article V, the state constitution incorporates changes made to national voting rights legislation. The system of elections and voter registration is left for the legislature to determine in law.

Like most Western states, Alaska allows citizens to initiate laws, to veto laws passed by the legislature (referendum), and to recall elected officials. However, these methods may not be used to amend the constitution. The amendment process starts with the legislature or a constitutional convention. A unique provision of the constitution is that voters have the chance to call a constitutional convention every 10 years.

Structure of Government

Article II describes the legislative branch. It is bicameral, with 20 senators (4 year terms) and 40 representatives (2 year terms). Legislative sessions meet annually for no more than 120 days (limited by amendment), but the legislature may be called into special session by the governor or through a two-thirds vote of legislators. The legislature operates through committees, and interim committees continue its work between sessions. The governor may veto legislative measures, and he has a line-item veto of appropriations bills. To override the governor's veto requires a three-fourths vote of the legislature meeting in joint session--an unusually tough provision. The Senate may impeach, and a vote of the House is necessary to convict officials of malfeasance.

Alaska's executive authority is concentrated in the governor, whose term is limited to two consecutive 4-year terms. The governor and the lieutenant governor are the only elected executive officials statewide. As chief executive, the governor has authority to hire and fire all other executive leaders. The governor's charge is the "faithful execution of the laws," and the administration has extensive regulatory authority under the constitution and statutes.

The constitution sets up a unified judicial system, with a supreme court as the rulemaking body of the entire court system. A superior court is also mentioned in the constitution, and the legislature is delegated authority to establish additional courts (appeals and district courts, for example). Judges are selected on a merit system, and there are periodic retention elections.

Functions and Responsibilities

The local government system established under the constitution is unique, because it too is unified. All local government is to be provided through cities and boroughs, and the constitution calls for "maximum local self-government."

Framers of the state constitution wrote a special section on the development and preservation of natural resources. This article sets out policies to encourage settlement of state land and use of fish and game as well as land resources--for the maximum benefit of the public.

As is the case with other state constitutions, Alaska's provides for public health and welfare, and it mentions the public education system. It establishes the University of Alaska as a unified system of higher education, which operates under a Board of Regents.

Reflecting the constitutional reform movement, the state constitution gives the legislature broad authority to tax and spend money, and it prohibits the earmarking of funds. This section was amended in 1976 to make possible the formation of the Alaska Permanent Fund.

In general, the Alaska constitution is among the most streamlined of the American state constitutions in its description of governmental powers and activities. It is relatively brief and written in easily understandable language. The constitution is also flexible. Nevertheless, there have been several attempts through amendments to make constitutional language more specific and detailed.

Glossary of Terms

bicameral legislature	direct legislation	double jeopardy
due process	home rule	habeas corpus
impeachment	initiative	line-item veto
martial law	one man, one vote ruling	pocket veto
reapportionment	recall	referendum

True and False Questions

1. All state constitutions in the United States establish governments with three branches.
2. The framers of the Alaska constitution were strongly influenced by the administrative reform movement of the mid-1900s.
3. Representatives of the territorial legislature called for a constitutional convention in 1955 because they thought it would delay statehood.
4. The delegates to the convention were elected at-large, and that is why no people from small towns or Native communities were selected.
5. A total of 47 delegates met at the convention.
6. The constitutional convention was held in Juneau during the summer of 1956.
7. One reason the convention proceeded so smoothly was because research and information on state constitutions, including models, was available to the delegates, and they were advised by experienced consultants.
8. In addition to ratifying the constitution, territorial voters also selected federal representatives and voted to abolish fish traps.
9. Alaska's right of privacy is the basis for the court decision allowing possession of marijuana for personal use.
10. Alaskans can write their own constitutional amendments through the initiative process.
11. Most of the amendments to the state constitution have been proposed by the legislature.
12. Alaska's constitution calls for strength in each of the three branches of government.
13. The legislature of Alaska is unicameral, and it has 50 members.

14. The legislature may meet for however long it wishes, and the governor may not call it into special session.

15. In Alaska, the House has the power to impeach, and the Senate decides whether the official should be convicted or not.

16. Reapportionment of the state legislature is done by the governor and an advisory reapportionment board.

17. The governor is limited to one term of four years, but he may run again after spending four years out of office.

18. By a constitutional amendment in 1986, the position of attorney general was made elective.

19. Lieutenant governors are elected separately from governors in Alaska's elections.

20. The constitution establishes a five-tiered court system, including magistrates, district, superior and appeals courts, and the supreme court.

21. The only local government bodies with power to tax are boroughs and cities.

22. Article VIII sets out the principles for management of Alaska's natural resources.

23. The state constitution provides that land should be made available for purchase and development.

24. Under the state constitution, there is both a University of Alaska and a community college system.

25. The Alaska Permanent Fund is the only dedicated fund protected by the state constitution.

26. In the opinion of the experts, the state's constitution has adapted reasonably well to changing conditions.

27. The amount of conflict between legislature and executive is an example of a problem unforeseen by delegates.

Multiple-Choice Questions

___ 1. The most important influence on the drafting of the Alaska state constitution was:

- a. the British history of constitutionalism
- b. the early state constitutions with strong legislative powers
- c. long territorial constitutions which restricted legislative powers
- d. the constitutional reform movement of the 1950s

___ 2. The Alaska constitutional convention was called by:

- a. the U.S. president
- b. an act of Congress
- c. the people of the territory, meeting in conventions
- d. the territorial legislature

___ 3. The state constitutional convention was more representative than previous territorial legislatures because:

- a. a novel apportionment scheme represented different parts of the territory, including rural areas
- b. there were many Natives in the convention
- c. special interests were well represented
- d. convention delegates ran on party tickets

- ___ 4. Fairbanks was selected as the site of the constitutional convention because:
- a. bars were open all night
 - b. there were few distractions
 - c. it was at the center of the territory's transportation hub
 - d. the university would provide expertise free
- ___ 5. Most instrumental to congressional passage of the Alaska statehood act in 1958 was:
- a. the influence and skill of Ernest Gruening
 - b. support for Alaska's statehood by the national media
 - c. support for statehood by professional groups in the U.S.
 - d. drafting and ratification of the Alaska constitution
- ___ 6. The Declaration of Rights (Article I) in Alaska's Constitution is different from the U.S. Bill of Rights in that it:
- a. does not provide for due process
 - b. permits the establishment of a state (Baptist) church
 - c. guarantees procedural rights of citizens
 - d. prohibits sex discrimination and recognizes a right of privacy
- ___ 7. The provision that automatically gives Alaska voters a chance to call a constitutional convention every 10 years is:
- a. an indication that the framers did not trust the legislature
 - b. an indication that the framers knew the constitution would need to be amended often
 - c. unusual among American state constitutions
 - d. an indication of the ultra-democratic values of the framers
- ___ 8. The Constitution reflects confidence and trust in the legislature by all of the following provisions EXCEPT:
- a. placing no limit on the length of legislative sessions
 - b. letting the legislature arrange for its own supporting services
 - c. paying legislators' salaries, which they set themselves
 - d. setting up committees to handle business between sessions
- ___ 9. The amount of litigation concerning the state's reapportionment process indicates that:
- a. the courts challenge the governor's role to redistrict
 - b. the framers failed to anticipate that governors would make political decisions when reapportioning
 - c. the legislature should have been given this power
 - d. the process is so important that any party or interest losing representation would challenge it in court
- ___ 10. The provision of the Constitution that DID NOT create the potential for a strong executive was:
- a. the provision allowing boards to direct state agencies
 - b. the governor's line-item veto
 - c. the governor's powers to call one or both houses into session
 - d. the governor's organization powers

- ___ 11. In almost every legislature since statehood, constitutional amendments have been proposed calling for the election of the:
- commissioner of education
 - revenue commissioner
 - attorney general
 - commissioner of fish and game
- ___ 12. The constitutional design of the judiciary is:
- efficient
 - independent
 - accountable
 - all of the above
- ___ 13. The constitution set up boroughs instead of counties because:
- counties were too rigid to meet the wide-ranging conditions in different parts of Alaska
 - framers were impressed with the operation of boroughs in New York City
 - framers liked the connotation given boroughs in England
 - counties were too prominent in the government of other states
- ___ 14. Which of the following principles is NOT established in the Alaska constitution's article on natural resources:
- natural resources of the state are to be preserved for future generations
 - the public should have access to and use of the state's natural resources
 - management of renewable resources must be on the basis of sustained yield
 - management should recognize multiple uses
- ___ 15. In the area of finance, the Alaska constitution was different from that of most states in that it:
- prohibited a statewide sales tax
 - permitted lotteries
 - prohibited dedicating funds to specific purposes
 - none of the above

Essay Questions

1. In what respects if any is the Alaska Constitution a "model"? Discuss with respect to the structure of state government that the Constitution establishes, and the construction of the document--for instance, its length and language.

2. Briefly compare the U.S. constitution with the Alaska constitution. In what ways does our state constitution diverge from the federal model? In what respects does it strongly resemble the federal arrangement of powers and limitations on power?

3. Review the amendments to the Alaska constitution. What do the amendments suggest about weaknesses as well as strengths of the original state charter?

INSTRUCTIONAL UNIT #3

Intergovernmental RelationsLearning Objectives

- Know how to distinguish national, state, local and Native governments
- Be able to distinguish between national from state and tribal government powers
- Understand the status of local governments in federal systems
- Know how different government authorities are involved in raising and spending money and in regulating behavior
- Understand relations of different governmental bodies in Alaska, particularly with respect to:
 - o impact of federal money
 - o federal control over land
- Be able to describe the authority for Native self-government in the U.S., and the meaning of Native sovereignty in Alaska
- Show how the dynamics of federalism have worked in Alaska, through analysis of the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (ANCSA)

Overview

The unit discusses intergovernmental relations in both general and specific terms. It first presents information on the different aspects of the American federal system. Then it applies this to specific types of government activities and interrelationships found in Alaska. Because Native governments are a unique feature of the pattern of government in Alaska, special attention is devoted to their authority for existence, forms, and activities.

Synopsis of "Intergovernmental Relations" (based on chapter by David Maas, "Federalism in Alaska" in the text)

Types and Powers of Governments in Alaska

Four types of government are found in Alaska: national, state, local, and Native (or tribal). Each can be described in terms of its boundaries, activities, and powers.

A federal system of government is one in which there are at least two levels of government, each with an independent basis of authority to make laws. National (or federal) government authority applies in Alaska and in all the other American states. Alaska state government authority applies only in the geographical limits of the territory of Alaska. Most local governments have no constitutional authority to make laws themselves, but they have been delegated power by the state. Finally, Native American governments have authority to regulate the affairs of Natives.

The powers of these governments are dissimilar. For example, the federal Constitution assigns specific powers to the federal government, such as regulation of interstate commerce and declaring war. The "necessary and proper" clause expands this list of powers greatly. Most

powers, however, were "reserved" to the states in the Constitution. Thus the police and education powers have been left to the states. Despite erosion in state powers over the last century, state governments remain in charge of substantial areas of popular life.

The federal government has exercised more power in Alaska than in the other states, for several reasons. Alaska's strategic location has brought Defense department involvement. The large federal acreage has given the federal government an important land management role. The special relationship that Natives have with the federal government creates additional national activity. Because of Alaska's non-contiguous location the federal commerce powers are more in evidence than would be the case in other states.

Alaska's local governments are different in type and power from those of the other American states. Alaska's urban population lives in a simplified governmental system of cities and boroughs (strong counties). Alaska's rural population faces a variety of governmental authorities, including special school districts and Native governments. The state constitution calls for strong local governments, with mandatory powers of taxation, education, planning and zoning. But the state and federal roles in local affairs are still large.

Governmental Interrelationships

Relationships among governments are complex and dynamic. Although local and state governments once raised the lion's share of governmental funds in the U.S., now the federal government is the major tax collector. As a result, much of the revenue of states and municipalities is made up of transfers from the federal government. Money flows from the top down in the form of grants, which are called categorical (specific purpose), block (general purpose), or, until 1986, revenue sharing. Federal government regulation also affects states and local governments, as a result of the civil rights and environmental protection movements. Regulation is done through four processes: direct orders, crosscutting requirements, crossover sanctions, and partial preemptions. Increase in federal money and regulation means that state and local governments increasingly have become intergovernmental managers of national programs. In general, this has increased both complexity of government operations and opportunities for conflict between states and the federal government.

In Alaska, complexity of federal-state relations is the rule. Per capita federal spending in Alaska is among the highest in the nation--in 1983 some \$2.1 billion was spent for federal operations and programs and for pass-through grants to the state and local governments. The federal government owns about 60 percent of the land in Alaska, and federal land management--of parks, wildlife refuges, and forests--affects development of the state's bounty.

Similarly, the state plays an active role in the government of local areas. Very large petroleum revenues have enabled the state to pay most of the bill for education, health, social welfare, and transportation.

The Special Relationship and Native Claims

The federal government has a special, "trust" relationship with American Natives, and is obliged to provide for their protection and welfare. Because Native governments are "dependent sovereignties"--governments with the Constitutional right to determine internal affairs for their members--they have a special status within American states. In Alaska, however, most Natives do not live on reservations, and the terms of self-government are unclear.

Under the Indian Reorganization Act (IRA) of 1934, Native communities were given enhanced powers of self-government. In Alaska, this act (as extended in 1936) is the authoritative basis for traditional and IRA councils, which are important governments in many rural areas. The extent of council powers to exclude non-Natives from villages, preferentially recruit Natives to jobs, and otherwise protect the culture has not been conclusively determined.

Other entities with strong influence over Native life and state fortunes are Native corporations, created under the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act of 1971. Alaska Natives did not sign over their land through treaties (as occurred among southern Indian tribes). At the time of statehood, they held claims to most of the state's territory. Through a process of political mobilization, Natives developed land claims organizations (including a statewide federation of Natives in 1966) and protested the transfer of federal land to the state until resolution of their claims. The Interior Secretary froze land transactions, which motivated the state and oil companies to seek resolution in Congress. Congress passed ANCSA in late 1971. It granted Natives 44 million acres of land and nearly \$1 billion, to be managed by Native village and regional corporations, in exchange for extinguishing aboriginal land claims.

The ANCSA case demonstrates many aspects of the pattern of intergovernmental relations in the United States. Issues of Alaska's land and people were influenced by ideas and attitudes that were American--competition and private industry. Central actors were not only Native organizations and leaders and state officials, but were also key congressional committees, federal agencies, the Nixon administration, and powerful environmental and oil interests. The compromise which resulted placed federal, state, local, and Native interests in a continuing relationship that has become more complex over time.

Glossary

ANCSA	block grants	categorical grants
federalism	formula programs	IRA
partial preemption	revenue sharing	sovereign government

True-False Questions

1. The Tyonek case is an example of conflict between a Native government, the state of Alaska, and the federal government over setting geographic boundaries.

2. Under the American Constitution, only state governments have sovereign powers.

3. Local governments have only those powers delegated to them by states.

4. During most of the history of the United States, the federal government held the most political power.

5. Federal powers apply to all American states, but they seem to be more visible in Alaska than elsewhere.

6. Alaska is at the forefront of constitutional and statutory grants of power to local governments.

7. The most powerful local governments in Alaska are special service districts and Native governments in rural areas.

8. The federal government once raised less money than states or localities, but now it raises much more.

9. The most restrictive form of federal grants to states is the block grant.

10. One way the federal government regulates states is through crossover preemptions.

11. States are generally satisfied with the amount of federal regulation and control over their activities.

12. Most of the federal money in Alaska is for grants to state and local governments.

13. The federal government owns about 90 percent of Alaska's land, and opposes all development on this land.

14. From the point of view of local governments, the most important thing the state does is pass out money.

15. The meaning of Native sovereignty in Alaska is clear and consistently applied in all cases.

16. Native governments in Alaska lack authority, because Alaska Natives do not live on reservations.

17. Claims of Alaska Natives to land had been extinguished by treaties during the 19th century.

18. The reason that oil companies supported the claims settlement act was because they could not build a pipeline to move oil without it.

19. The position of the state of Alaska was essentially the same as that of Native groups in seeking settlement of Native claims.

20. ANCSA gave Natives land and money that could be used however they individually wanted.

21. Most Natives in villages were not very involved in the Native claims movement.

22. In general, over the last 200 years, the powers of government have become more centralized.

23. In federal systems of government, the divisions of power between central and state governments are clearly defined and absolute.

Multiple-Choice Questions

1. Governments in the United States possessing sovereign powers include all the following EXCEPT:

- a. local governments
- b. state governments
- c. Native governments
- d. the federal government

- ___ 2. The federal government is highly visible in Alaska because of:
- Alaska's strategic location
 - the state's large Native population
 - the large amount of federal land in the state
 - all of the above
- ___ 3. The reason that local governments in Alaska have substantial power is:
- they all use the strong mayor system of government
 - the constitution and statutes place no limits on their authority
 - they have large tax bases
 - the courts have ruled that their powers are vast
- ___ 4. Most of the federal money Alaska (and other states) gets is in the form of:
- categorical grants-in-aid
 - block grants
 - revenue sharing
 - the state gets an equal amount of each type
- ___ 5. The least used method of federal regulation of state activity is:
- partial preemption
 - crossover sanction
 - direct order
 - crosscutting requirement
- ___ 6. Per capita spending by the federal government in Alaska is:
- lower than in any other American state
 - about the same as in other states
 - among the highest in the nation
 - lower in some years, higher in other years, than in the rest of the states
- ___ 7. On the average, the spending of Alaska state and local governments in the early 1980s was:
- about one-half the national average
 - the same as the national average
 - twice the national average
 - four times the national average
- ___ 8. One reason Alaska Natives do not have the same degree of self-government available to lower-48 Indians is that:
- the federal protections do not extend to Alaska
 - most Alaska Natives do not live on reservations
 - no Native group has sought to govern itself in Alaska
 - federal guarantees are unnecessary because state guarantees are sufficient
- ___ 9. All the following issues of Native government in Alaska are unresolved EXCEPT FOR:
- the jurisdiction of Native governments over ANCSA lands
 - general agreement over which organizations should have tribal standing
 - the jurisdiction of Native governments outside reservations
 - the authority of Natives organized as villages but not tribes

10. Alaska Natives were in a better position to claim lands than Indians in the lower-48, because:

- a. they had staked all of their lands with clear markers
- b. they had signed treaties specifying which lands were still theirs
- c. they could establish almost undisturbed use and occupancy of lands
- d. Alaskans historically have treated Native Americans better than people of the other states

11. The Alaska Federation of Natives formed in:

- a. 1929 b. 1936 c. 1966 d. 1970

12. All the following were important factors in the passage of the SA EXCEPT:

- a. the proposed trans-Alaska pipeline couldn't be built until the claims issue was resolved
- b. the skill and organizing abilities of Native leadership made passage easier
- c. Congress was eager to dispose of the frigid wasteland of Alaska
- d. President Nixon was committed to development of U.S. energy sources

13. A major advantage of federalism from the perspective of a state like Alaska is that:

- a. national as well as state officials are concerned about state needs
- b. the federal government stands ready to pay for public education when the state runs out of money
- c. the state can do whatever it wants as long as it has Republican institutions of government
- d. the state has independent authority to make laws

Essay Questions

1. Analyze a conflict in Alaska's relations with the federal government from the time of statehood to the present. In your essay, determine whether the conflict is the result of the normal operation of federalism or if it is the consequence of special conditions and discriminations that apply to Alaska alone.

2. Look carefully at the community in which you live, and try to estimate the kinds of federal grants and payments that are provided every year. To what extent does "control follow the dollar"? Can you point to regulation of behavior that matches the amount of federal aid given to Alaska? Discuss.

3. What are the advantages and disadvantages of our system of intergovernmental relations from the point of view of people who are culturally different--such as the Alaska Natives? How might the land claims issue have been resolved if the American government system had been a unitary one, with only one source of sovereignty?

INSTRUCTIONAL UNIT #4

Alaska's Political CultureLearning Objectives

- Be able to define the meaning of a state's "political culture"
- See the way Alaskans define themselves, in relation to government and politics
- Develop a sense of the relationship between how people define themselves and the kind of public policies they support
- Know the difference between analytical and descriptive accounts of political attitudes
- Understand the major cleavages of the Alaska political community
- Be able to compare and contrast Native and non-Native political cultures with respect to:
 - o political trust
 - o efficacy
 - o political participation
 - o knowledge and support of community organizations
 - o knowledge and support of state and federal governments
 - o attitudes toward decisionmaking
- Spell out the respects in which Alaska political culture is different from that of other states, and why

Overview

This unit discusses an elusive concept--political culture, or the way people in a community think about government and politics. The chapter defines the concept through three different operations. It reviews the images Alaskans report having of themselves; it considers the types of political culture available throughout the United States; and it looks briefly at analytical types of culture. Cleavages in the Alaska political culture are discussed, and the most important cleavage--that between Native and non-Native Alaskans--is discussed at length.

In terms of its geography, climate, and resources, Alaska seems much different from the other American states. The unit's purpose is to see whether the way Alaskans think about their government and political relationships with others--their "political culture"--is equally different from the pattern in other states.

Synopsis of "Alaska's Political Culture (based on Gerald McBeath's chapter "Alaska's Political Culture," in text)

Approaches to the Culture of Politics in Alaska

Three methods tell us about Alaska's political culture. First, is the image which Alaskans have about themselves, and the word pictures in which this image is described. For example, Alaskans often talk about themselves as self-reliant, rugged individualists, and most believe the Alaska lifestyle is different from that "Outside".

Second, is the pattern of subcultures within the political community. In other states, moralistic and traditionalistic subcultures are prevalent. Alaska seems to come closest to an individualist political subculture, and this type of subculture helps us understand policy choices made by Alaskans, such as the permanent fund distribution scheme.

Third, is the analytical type of culture, ranging from "participant," to "subject," and "parochial." Although the American political culture has been described as strongly activist and participatory, changes of political events and issues may have changed this orientation.

Structure of Alaska's Political Culture

Political cultures are compounds of different elements. All groups in society do not share them to the same degree. The folklore of Alaska politics is that there is no gap between leaders and followers, but with growth of population in the state, a cleavage has developed. A larger gap of culture is between Caucasian and other non-Native Alaskans, most of whom were not born in the state, and Native Alaskans. This is the most enduring division of the Alaska polity. A final source of divisiveness is the different attitudes Alaskans take toward policy issues, such as opening up areas for oil and gas development.

Native/non-Native Differences in Political Culture

Community resident surveys in 1984 indicated some of the ways in which Native Alaskans' political attitudes and orientations differed from those of non-Natives. They also pointed out many areas in which there were few differences.

Both Natives and non-Natives are likely to be open and accepting of others even if they are not kin or friends. They have a strong sense of efficacy (ability to control important outcomes). Natives participated in local affairs at a higher rate than urban residents, but this participation came mostly in the form of "discussion with leaders" before and after meetings.

Most Alaska residents are familiar with community organizations in general terms, but they are less likely to understand what Native governments do than the activities of city council, and school boards. They also positively evaluate the work of community organizations. Knowledge about who represents Alaskans in Juneau and Washington, D.C. is widely spread, and both Natives and non-Natives have strongly positive orientations toward these representatives.

Most residents preferred voting as the best way to select leaders. Less than half the Native respondents thought that letting elders make decisions was a good method. Both Natives and non-Natives believed that everyone should have a say in making community decisions, and that needs of all should be the chief criterion upon which decisions are made. The main difference between Native and non-Native residents concerned the process of decisionmaking: Natives were more likely to favor talking over issues slowly, to let the views of all be expressed, and to postpone decisions if necessary. Finally, many Natives believed the best way to voice opinions was through "talking with leaders," while most non-Natives believed that voting was the best influence strategy.

Overall Dimensions of Alaska Political Culture

Native Alaskans have the most distinctive political culture in the state. Their search for consensus in community settings, and preference for a process of discussion that involves all, are reflections of broader cultural attitudes. Outside Alaska's villages, there appear to be few significant differences in civic culture between Alaskans' attitudes and those of people in other states.

Glossary

bush	consensus	individualist
moralist	traditionalist	civic culture
political efficacy	participation	
"cheechako"	"sourdough"	

True-False Questions

1. Alaska's geography, climate, and resources are unique among the American states.
2. Most Alaskans are self-reliant individualists who believe their lifestyle is superior to that of other Americans.
3. A distinctive aspect of Alaska life is physical and psychological bonding between residents and those living in other states.
4. Alaskans' political attitudes are more moralistic than are those of residents in other states.
5. An example of Alaskans' individualist orientations is strong popular support for the permanent fund dividend program.
6. Americans have a strongly apathetic orientation toward government and politics.
7. The elite-mass gap is wider in Alaska than in the other states.
8. The most important cleavage in Alaska politics is between Natives and non-Natives.
9. Alaskans tend to be distrusting of others, unless they are kin or friends.
10. Alaskans are more likely to select leaders because of family connections and friendship than because of experience.
11. Most Alaskans believe they have no power to change an undesirable local situation--such as getting rid of a bad teacher or principal in the school.
12. Urban residents are more likely to attend meetings of local councils and boards than are rural, Native residents.
13. The easiest way for Natives to make their views known is through discussion with leaders before and after meetings.
14. In general, Alaskans tend to evaluate negatively the work of community organizations.
15. Most Alaskans do not have clear ideas of what Native governments do.
16. Most Alaskans do not know the names of their representatives in Juneau and Washington, D.C.
17. Alaskans are dissatisfied with both state and federal government performance.
18. In the opinion of most Alaskans, the best way to select leaders is by having people take turns in the job.

19. When deciding on issues, Native residents are more likely to prefer postponing decisions than urban, non-Native residents.

20. When not comparing it to other methods, most Alaskans believe that voting is the best way to express views.

21. Native culture emphasizes values in the land and in consensus more than non-Native.

22. Alaskans participate somewhat more in government affairs than do other Americans.

Multiple-Choice Questions

- ___ 1. Traits we associate with the term Alaskan include, among others:
 - a. obsession with cleanliness and physical culture
 - b. self-reliance and individualism
 - c. worldly sophistication
 - d. preoccupation with safety and security

- ___ 2. The "frontier vocabulary" of Alaska includes all the following terms EXCEPT:
 - a. termination dust
 - b. break up
 - c. ice fog
 - d. heat wave

- ___ 3. The type of political culture that best fits Alaska is:
 - a. moralistic
 - b. traditional
 - c. individualist
 - d. ritualistic

- ___ 4. In Alaska, division between elites and masses is least likely to occur:
 - a. cities such as Anchorage and Fairbanks
 - b. Southeast communities isolated from the mainland
 - c. rural villages and small towns
 - d. any community, large or small

- ___ 5. The most important division in the Alaska political culture is between:
 - a. Natives and non-Natives
 - b. rich and poor
 - c. urban and rural residents
 - d. boomers and greenies

- ___ 6. In general, Alaskans tend to be:
 - a. frightened of conflict in community organizations
 - b. open and accepting of others
 - c. comfortable only in dealing with friends and relatives
 - d. none of the above

- ___ 7. Comparing the political efficacy of Alaskans with others, one could say:
- most Alaskans believe it is impossible to affect outcomes
 - Alaskans believe a great deal of effort is necessary in order to have a say
 - a minority believes people have a say in policy through voting
 - most believe affecting events close to home--such as teachers in the local school--is fairly easy
- ___ 8. Alaskans are best informed about the activities of:
- IRA and traditional councils
 - city councils and school boards
 - regional and village ANCSA corporations
 - non-profit corporations
- ___ 9. In general, the attitude of Alaskans toward community organizations tends to be:
- positive
 - neutral
 - negative
 - positive and negative, depending on the issue
- ___ 10. Alaskans are likely to know the names of:
- their state legislators
 - the governor
 - U.S. representatives and senators
 - all of the above
- ___ 11. For most Alaskans, the best way to select leaders is by:
- voting
 - having a board or council pick them
 - having elders select them
 - having people take turns in the job
- ___ 12. The Alaska residents, the single most important thing in decisionmaking is:
- keeping what is best for everyone in mind
 - keeping the needs of those most concerned in mind
 - keeping the needs of Native culture in mind
 - looking out for yourself
- ___ 13. The most important determinant of Alaska's political culture is:
- the state's long political history
 - the religious traditions of Alaska pioneers
 - the unique environment of Alaska
 - the education level of the Alaska population

Essay Questions

- What (if anything) makes Alaskans different politically from people in the other states? Discuss, in an essay on the political culture of Alaska.

2. Select a public policy in Alaska that is different from that found in any other state--such as the Alaska longevity bonus. To what extent can this policy be explained by the political culture of Alaska, as compared to other factors?

3. Analyze the ways in which the Alaska Native political culture differs from the attitudes and orientations of non-Natives. Are these differences increasing or decreasing over time?

INSTRUCTIONAL UNIT #5

Alaska's ElectionsLearning Objectives

- Understand the functions elections play in democratic states
- Know what major changes have taken place in Alaska's electoral demography since statehood, and how Alaska voters now compare with those other Western states
- Understand the impact on campaigns of population changes and of the new campaign technology
- Know basic election rules: registering to vote, getting on the ballot, and requirements of primary and general elections
- Be able to explain what "turnout" is and describe turnout in Alaska's elections since statehood
- Understand the meaning of "interparty competition" in the Alaska context; be able to assess how Alaska's party competition compares with other states, and how much variation there is in party competition by type of race
- Be familiar with the rate of partisan identification in Alaska, and the amount of third-party voting
- Understand the impact of elections on outcomes--such as who controls the state legislature and the impact of incumbency
- Be able to show the relationship between voting on candidates and voting on issues, as in the 1982 election for governor

Overview

The unit is divided into four sections. First, the context in which elections take place is presented, including description of electoral demography, campaigns, and rules. Second, the rate of participation in elections is discussed in comparison to that of other states, and by type of election. Third, electoral competition between political parties is analyzed, and the Alaska voter's antipathy to political parties (and support for third-parties) is explained. The unit concludes with analysis of outcomes in Alaska's elections--control over the state legislature, and the relationship between issue and candidate voting in the 1982 state election.

Synopsis of Alaska's Elections (Based on Thomas Morehouse's chapter, "Alaska's Elections" in text)

Context of Elections in Alaska

The social characteristics of Alaska's voters are different from those of voters in other American states, but the gap is narrowing over time. Since statehood, the age and sex ratios have become more balanced and the population less transitory. But Alaska voters of the 1980s are still younger, better educated, and more mobile than voters in other states. These distinguishing characteristics apply primarily to Anchorage and Fairbanks residents, who differ from rural and Southeast residents.

Once most elections were affairs for "friends and neighbors" politics, but now this is rare in urban areas--Anchorage and Fairbanks--where 65 percent of the population live. Voters have less personal contact with candidates than formerly, and media play a larger role. Elections are more costly too, and candidates are dependent on special interest contributors (PACs) for most of their campaign costs.

The first rule affecting voting in Alaska is apportionment--setting up voting districts--done every 10 years by the Governor (with advice of a reapportionment board). Registration laws specify who can vote. Getting on the ballot is regulated by law, as is the type of primary (a blanket or "free" type). The requirements tend to restrict the amount of participation possible.

Turnout in Alaska's Elections

A number of factors affect participation (turnout) in elections, such as voting rules, party competition, and demographic characteristics of the population. In the United States generally, turnout in presidential elections has been declining since 1960. The Alaska pattern is the opposite: from a low of 52 percent in the 1960s, turnout increased to 60 percent by 1984.

Like voters in other states, Alaskans vote more often in presidential than state elections, with the important exception of 1982--when two-thirds of the voting age population turned out. A 1978 decline in turnout (probably related to pipeline construction mobility) is more than matched by the 1982 increase. In the 1980s, with the state government spending billions of dollars, Alaskans saw important stakes in elections.

Interparty Competition in Alaska

In the United States, interparty competition has increased, particularly in urban and industrial states. Alaska is classified as a competitive two-party state, but there are regions (rural) without much party competition. In presidential voting, Alaska is more Republican than most of the other states; each region shows Democratic declines and Republican gains. In congressional voting, too, there has been a swing from Democratic to Republican voting, and in the 1980s all members of the congressional delegation have been Republicans.

State electoral contests have been more competitive in urban than in rural districts. Northwest has been most consistently Democratic and south central (including Anchorage) the most Republican region of the state. The grouping of Republican voters in urban centers has resulted in some "waste" of Republican votes: Democrats, with a smaller percentage of the vote statewide, have won a proportionately larger number of seats in the legislature.

Alaska voters have tended to vote split tickets at a high rate, with the greatest erosion of straight-ticket voting among the Democrats. A growing number of voters have no party identification (or it is quite weak); in fact, a majority of voters statewide are registered as "nonpartisans". As a result, Alaska provides a good environment for third-party and independent candidates.

Outcomes of Elections in Alaska

Across the United States, one sees an increase in election to office of incumbents, and divided party control of state government. These patterns of the 1960s and 1970s have also emerged in Alaska's politics. The change in Alaska is startling, because for the first decade of statehood one party (the Democrats) controlled the governorship and both houses of the legislature most of the time.

In the 1980s, legislative parties were split into bi-partisan coalitions, formed to spend the state's vast oil wealth. Incumbents were likely to be re-elected, but the House has had more new members than found in most states. Reapportionment does not seem to have had much impact on incumbency.

The 1982 election is an opportunity to observe the impact of issues and candidates on voters' choices. That year there were three candidates for governorship--the Democrat, Sheffield, who won with 47 percent of the vote; Republican Tom Fink with 38 percent; and Libertarian Randolph who garnered 15 percent. Voters also cast ballots on controversial propositions, among which were a spending limit, call for state ownership of federal lands, subsistence repeal, and the capital move. Candidates took conflicting positions on these issues, and that had an electoral effect: those voting against subsistence repeal and capital move, the majority, also voted for Sheffield; those voting for subsistence repeal and moving the capitol, voted for Fink. Randolph, whose positions were close to Fink's, took votes from him, giving the race to Sheffield. This election was unusual in that Sheffield won statewide while losing in both Anchorage and the southcentral region.

Alaska's elections have become more complex than previously. Increasingly, they resemble elections in the rest of the states.

Glossary of Terms

party-less campaigning
electoral demography
subsistence repeal

coattail effect
independent
ticket-splitting

tundra rebellion
initiative
blanket primary

True-False Questions

1. Elections are the means by which citizens choose leaders who set official policies.
2. Between 1960 and 1980 Alaska's population became less like that of the United States as a whole and more like that of the southern states.
3. The "typical" Alaska voter in the 1980s is young, well-educated, and on the move seeking economic opportunity in the north.
4. Voters in the bush and Southeast are basically the same as those in Anchorage and Fairbanks.
5. The old-style "friends and neighbors" politics is still common in Alaska's cities.
6. The most significant source of campaign funds is still individual contributors.
7. To be registered to vote in Alaska you must have lived in the state and election district for at least 30 days.

8. Alaska, like Washington, uses a closed primary system which makes it impossible for voters to "cross over".

9. In the 1980s, Alaska's turnout has been higher than in the mountain states and the U.S. as a whole.

10. The highest turnout of any Alaska statewide election was in 1978.

11. The reason that many more Alaskans vote now than formerly is probably because the stakes are higher.

12. Alaska is best understood as a one-party dominant state.

13. Congressional elections in Alaska have been won by Democrats consistently since statehood.

14. As a Democratic candidate, your best chances for success in a state legislative race are in the Alaska peninsula.

15. As a Republican candidate, your best chances for success in a state legislative race are in North Pole.

16. The party with the largest number of "wasted" or redundant votes is the Republican party.

17. The majority of voters statewide are registered as either Republicans or Democrats.

18. From 1969 through the present there have been no instances of "unified" party control of state government at all.

19. Incumbents who run for election in Alaska lose about 40 percent of the time.

20. Alaska governors have used their reapportionment powers to put their party in control of the legislature.

21. In the 1982 election, Tom Fink opposed the subsistence repeal and capital move initiatives.

22. Sheffield and Randolph had identical positions on the subsistence repeal and capital move.

23. The reason Sheffield won the 1982 election was because a majority of people supported his position on the issues.

24. Randolph was a "spoiler" in the 1982 race because he split the pro-Fink vote.

25. The 1982 election was the only race in Alaska history where the winner got a plurality of the statewide vote while losing in Anchorage and southcentral.

Multiple-Choice Questions

___ 1. Between 1960 and 1980, Alaska's voters became more like those of the United States as a whole in all of the following respects EXCEPT:

- a. age b. sex c. mobility d. race

___ 2. The demographic characteristics of Alaska's voters--youth, high education, higher incomes--are usually associated with:

- a. more conservative political preferences
- b. more liberal political preferences
- c. more radical political preferences
- d. apolitical preferences

___ 3. Increases in election costs of Anchorage legislative races from 1974 to 1984 were:

- a. 1,000 percent in senate races; 700 percent for house races
- b. 730 percent in senate races; 1,000 percent for house races
- c. 200 percent in senate races; 360 percent for house races
- d. 100 percent in senate races; 50 percent for house races

- ___ 4. Candidates get ___ percent of campaign funds from special interest contributors (unions, lobbyists, corporations, etc.).
a. 90 percent b. 75 percent c. 50 percent d. 25 percent
- ___ 5. The difference between the blanket and closed primary is that in the former you can:
a. vote for anyone you want on your party's ballot
b. choose whichever party's ballot you want and vote for anyone on it
c. vote for candidates of any party
d. none of the above
- ___ 6. From 1960 to 1984, turnout of Alaskans in presidential elections has ___ while turnout of the voting-age American population has ___:
a. decreased; decreased
b. decreased; increased
c. increased; decreased
d. increased; increased
- ___ 7. The most logical explanation for the increase of participation in statewide elections in the 1980s is:
a. changes in voting rules made it easier to vote
b. schools across Alaska improved their government courses, which showed Alaskans that it was their civic duty to vote
c. population growth stabilized
d. Alaskans perceived greater benefits to voting
- ___ 8. The presidential vote in Alaska over the period of statehood shows:
a. Democratic declines, Republican gains, in all regions
b. Republican gains in Anchorage, Democratic gains in Southeast and the bush
c. Democratic gains in Fairbanks, southcentral, and the bush
d. no change
- ___ 9. Over the statehood period, the most Democratic region of the state has been:
a. Anchorage
b. Southeast
c. rural areas
d. Fairbanks and the interior
- ___ 10. The reason that Republican candidates captured 56 percent of the statewide vote in 1984, but won less than half the total number of legislative seats, was:
a. Republican votes were concentrated in cities and thus "wasted"
b. Corrupt Democratic officials dumped Republican ballots into Cook Inlet
c. Republican votes were split between Republican and Libertarian candidates
d. none of the above--the concept of a "wasted" vote is absurd

11. Data comparing presidential and gubernatorial elections to legislative races show that:
- presidential coattails produce legislative majorities
 - gubernatorial coattails produce legislative majorities in about half of the races
 - gubernatorial coattails produced legislative majorities in 1972, 1978, and 1982
 - neither coattail was long enough to produce a legislative majority
12. Your best chances of having an uncontested election are if your district is:
- urban, house
 - urban, senate
 - rural, house
 - rural, senate
13. All of the following propositions were controversial in the 1982 election EXCEPT:
- capital move
 - state spending limit
 - subsistence repeal initiative
 - mandatory seat belt initiative
14. Voters in 1982 who were against the capital move and subsistence repeal initiative were likely to be in favor of:
- Ramona Barnes
 - Bill Sheffield
 - Dick Randolph
 - Tom Fink
15. What strong interparty competition means in a state like Alaska is:
- Democrats and Republicans slug it out in each race, to the end
 - national party organizations give advice and money to party candidates
 - individual candidates fight intense races, sometimes over issues related to the election
 - third-party and independent candidacies are rare

Essay Questions

- Is the current Alaska party system competitive? Is it possible in most statewide and legislative races for either a Democratic or Republican to win the election? Why or why not?
- Compare the election campaigns you have observed in Alaska at the municipal level with statewide races (for governorship or legislative seats). What are the chief differences in campaign organization, finance, strategy, and tactics?
- How can we explain the way Alaskans vote in elections? Discuss the competing influence of political parties, issues, and candidate appeal in the mind of voters in a recent statewide election.
- Given the pattern of participation in elections over the statehood period, discuss what would be necessary to significantly increase the turnout rate. In your essay, look at the impact of election rules, issues, and electoral demography on participation.

INSTRUCTIONAL UNIT #6

Alaska's Political PartiesLearning Objectives

- Understand the reform tradition in which Alaska parties developed
- Know what authority the state gives political parties, and whether the state supports party roles in the electoral process
- Be able to compare the organization of Alaska parties with that of parties in other states, pointing out differences and similarities
- Know the rate of identification with Republican, Democratic, and third-parties in Alaska, and rate of non-partisanship
- Be able to explain distribution of partisanship and changes in it
- Understand the operation of party forces in Alaska government:
 - o lack of partisan organization in the legislature
 - o mixed results in creating partisan administrations
 - o limitation of partisan influence on judicial policymaking
- Be able to describe the fortunes of third parties in Alaska politics and analyze why they are more prominent than in other states
- Explain the weakness of Alaska political parties as compared to those in other states

Overview

This unit describes the Alaska political party system in three parts. First, it considers the role that parties play in the state, as influenced by statutes, and it analyzes the structure of parties. Second, the way Alaska voters identify themselves with respect to parties is described, along with reasoning behind the high rate of nonpartisanship. Third, the role parties play in state government--legislative, executive, and judicial--is presented. The unit concludes with a brief discussion of third parties.

Synopsis of Alaska's Political Parties (Based on Carl Shepro's chapter, "Alaska's Political Parties," in text)

Organization of Alaska's Political Parties

Alaska allows political parties a high degree of freedom to establish their own internal rules and structure. But the state is among the least supportive regarding party roles in campaigns and elections. Structurally, Alaska's parties resemble those of other states at the bottom (precinct level) and the top (state committee). At the regional level, corresponding to counties in the other states, Alaska's parties have no consistent administrative and electoral structure. As a result, parties are not well integrated or "tight" as organizational units.

Identification of Alaskans with Political Parties

Most Alaskans (53 percent) are nonpartisan. Over the last two decades, there have been slight decreases in affiliation with the Democratic party, and modest increases in Republican and minor party registration. Statewide totals mask differences in regional patterns of affiliation, such as decline of partisanship in the rural northwest and central regions.

Alaska differs significantly from other states in its high rate of nonpartisanship. This is attributable to: 1) a political culture of individualism, 2) historical factors, such as the impact of the progressive era when Alaska parties developed, and 3) most importantly, institutional factors--rules which discourage party affiliation, especially the state's open (blanket) primary. Alaskans who do identify with parties do so in response to 1) cultural traditions of affiliation, 2) affiliations migrants brought with them from other states, and 3) the role parties sometimes play in campaigns.

Parties' Roles in Government

Parties have played weak roles in the organization and operation of state government in Alaska. In the legislature, parties have not consistently organized either house, and in the 1980s bipartisan coalitions have been common. Winners of the governorship have not brought in legislators or their parties on their coattails. Although a recent governor (Sheffield) used partisanship as an important criterion in selecting political appointees, other governors have followed bipartisan appointment patterns. Finally, use of partisanship in selecting judges is curbed by limiting selection to lists prepared by the Judicial Council.

Minor Parties in Alaska Politics

Two third-parties have figured in recent Alaska campaigns: the Libertarian party and the Alaska Independence Party. Alaska has had the most vigorous Libertarian organization in the nation, but its strength is based on its popular leader, Dick Randolph, who rejoined the Republican Party in 1986. This party has placed a number of initiatives on the state ballot. The Alaska Independence Party of Fairbanksan Joe Vogler has urged separation of Alaska from the United States. Minor parties have a greater effect in Alaska than in other states, and have affected the fortunes of the Republican and Democratic parties.

Despite their weakness, parties continue to operate in Alaska. They do help voters understand issue positions of some candidates. But Alaska's parties have to be viewed in the context of the state's economy and culture, where factions based on distribution of wealth, region of residence, and ethnicity are as important in organizing power.

Glossary

closed primary
non-partisan
progressivism

coalition
partisan
third party

Libertarian
party identification

True-False Questions

1. Parties in Alaska organized themselves after reformist principles had taken root.
2. The two states allowing parties the most freedom to set rules and structure are New Mexico and Louisiana.
3. Alaska laws support parties by allowing parties to endorse candidates before general elections and requiring voters to state party preference.
4. At the precinct level, Alaska parties are like those of other states.
5. Neither Republican nor Democratic Party has a state central committee.
6. Only the Republicans have affiliated clubs, such as Young Republicans.
7. Party affiliation in Alaska is completely different from that in other states--where partisanship is increasing.
8. The majority of Alaska voters (53 percent) are nonpartisan.
9. Urban areas of the state--southeast, southcentral, and central--have gained Republicans and lost Democrats.
10. The most important factor explaining Alaskans' lack of partisanship is the state's history before 1867 when there were no parties.
11. One reason that some Alaskans do use party labels is because they brought them along with them from other states when they migrated here.
12. Parties controlled the state legislature in the 1960s and 1980s.
13. One reason that parties can control the legislature easily is that procedural majorities can be formed easily.
14. Alaska governors have never attempted to use appointment powers to make partisan administrations.
15. Parties are more important vehicles for funneling campaign contributions to candidates now than previously.
16. When governors appoint judges they pay no attention to party registration and partisan beliefs of applicants.
17. In 1980 a Libertarian candidate, Dick Randolph, captured 15 percent of the vote in a gubernatorial election.
18. The leader of the Alaska Independence Party is Joe McGinniss.
19. One of the ways the Libertarian party has established name recognition with voters is by advancing ballot initiatives, such as the tax repeal initiative of 1979.
20. The weakness of Alaska parties makes one focus on the role factions play in state politics.

Multiple-Choice Questions

1. A reformist principle that has retarded the building of party organizations in Alaska is:
 - a. nonpartisan elections at the local level
 - b. open primaries for nomination of candidates
 - c. a "model" constitution which assigned no role to parties
 - d. all of the above

___ 2. Alaska statutes give the appearance of supporting relatively strong party organizations by:

- a. letting parties determine their own structures and areas of operation
- b. prohibiting partisan activity of public school teachers
- c. making parties responsible for the conduct of primary elections
- d. none of the above

___ 3. The least supportive law of Alaska, as far as building strong party organizations is concerned, is:

- a. prohibition on early party endorsement of candidates
- b. registration procedures which require no declaration of party preference
- c. provision for open primaries
- d. office block ballot with no option for voting on a straight party ticket

___ 4. As compared to party systems in most states, which have the strongest organization at the district (or county) level, in Alaska:

- a. parties are strongest at the state level
- b. parties are weakest at the precinct level
- c. parties lack a strong unit between state and precinct levels
- d. parties are strongest through their informal groups

___ 5. The number of Alaskans who identify with no political party is approximately:

- a. 10 percent b. 35 percent c. 55 percent d. 80 percent

___ 6. The most important factor explaining Alaskans' lack of partisanship is:

- a. their individualism
- b. their history as a colony and customs district
- c. the climate and geography, which make it hard for people to get together for any purpose
- d. election rules which discourage party affiliation or fail to reinforce it if it already exists

___ 7. We would probably find the highest rate of partisanship among which of the following groups:

- a. Miners in the interior
- b. government employees in Kotzebue
- c. hunters in the bush
- d. migrants to Alaska from the South, Washington, D.C., and Minnesota

___ 8. In the Alaska legislature, interparty coalitions have been most frequent in the:

- a. 1950s b. 1960s c. 1970s d. 1980s

___ 9. The chief differences between Alaska legislative coalitions and those in the Western states is that in Alaska, coalitions:

- a. emphasize distribution of economic benefits, and last longer
- b. emphasize distribution of political benefits, and last longer
- c. emphasize factional ties based on race or gender and disintegrate quickly
- d. emphasize orientation toward the high tech future, and last longer

- ___ 10. The Alaska governor who paid most attention to the partisan nature of his administration was:
- Wally Hickel
 - Bill Egan
 - Jay Hammond
 - Bill Sheffield
- ___ 11. The chief obstacle to implementing partisan control over the Alaska courts is:
- the moral rectitude and virtue of members of the bench
 - the commission on judicial qualifications
 - the Missouri plan which requires that candidates be screened by a judicial council
 - federal screening of Alaska judicial appointments
- ___ 12. The most successful minor party candidate in Alaska history is:
- Joe Vogler
 - Ed Clarke
 - Dick Randolph
 - Ken Fanning
- ___ 13. Alaska minor parties are distinctive for all of the following reasons EXCEPT:
- their success in electing mayors and city councilmen
 - their success in advancing ballot initiatives
 - their representation of important aspects of Alaska political culture
 - their role as spoiler in close electoral races
- ___ 14. The important lesson that a study of Alaska's parties gives to all Americans is:
- weak party organizations create chaos in policymaking
 - without parties, people have no idea what to vote for
 - weak parties lessen ideological conflict
 - the rules, practices, and institutions in force at the time a state is formed influence it throughout its life

Essay Questions

- Write an essay which compares the Alaska party system to the national system of Republican and Democratic parties for presidential elections. What are the major differences and similarities?
- Analyze the advantages and disadvantages of a weak party system, like that we have in Alaska. Among the topics to consider are: What impact does the weakness of party forces have on education of the public concerning important public issues? Creating policy that responds to all relevant interests in the state? Providing government that can be held responsible to the electorate?
- Think about a recent election campaign that you observed (at the state level), and recall all of the images associated with either of the major political parties. Then compare the two sets of images, Republican and Democratic. What, if any, are the chief differences in the Alaska context?

INSTRUCTIONAL UNIT #7

Interest Groups in AlaskaLearning Objectives

- Understand what is meant by the concepts interest groups and lobbies
- Be able to point out the main factors of the setting in which Alaska interest groups operate
- Be familiar with the role of the Alaska Public Offices Commission (APOC) in regulating campaign disclosure and registering lobbyists
- Know the main types of interest groups, and be able to distinguish among them
- Know which groups are the big spenders in legislative sessions
- Understand the different kinds of lobbyists in Juneau:
 - o contract lobbyists
 - o in-house lobbyists
 - o legislative liaisons
 - o citizen lobbyists
 - o individuals
- Be familiar with effective tactics used by Alaska lobbyists, such as holding fund raisers for candidates
- Know which groups, in the opinion of legislators in the mid-1980s, are regarded as effective
- Understand the main differences between interest group operations in Alaska and those in other states

Overview

This unit considers interest groups and lobbying in Alaska through analysis of four different dimensions. The unit begins by defining interest groups and specifying the factors of the Alaska setting which influence interest group activity. Constitutional and regulatory provisions are spelled out. Second, the different types of interest groups and lobbyists are categorized. Third, the unit considers the different group and lobbying tactics used in Juneau. Finally, the unit evaluates interest groups from two points of view--evaluation of their effectiveness by state legislators, and comparative evaluation of the Alaska interest group system in comparison to that in other states.

Synopsis of "Interest Groups in Alaska" (based on chapter by Clive Thomas, "Interest Groups and Lobbying in Alaska," in text)

The Setting for Interest Group Activity in Alaska

Interest groups are associations of individuals who think the same way about one or more issues, and who try to influence public policy. They differ from political parties in that they don't seek to operate government, and usually they are narrower of purpose than parties. To lobby means to promote the interest of a group, usually in a legislature (and increasingly in the executive branch). Most people use the terms interest group and lobby interchangeably.

Five characteristics of the Alaska setting influence interest group activity. First, Alaska's parties are weak organizations and they do not hold the loyalty of most voters. Second, the wealth of Alaska in the 1980s meant that most groups could get at least some funding, but they could not always achieve policies if they were controversial. Third, regional politics in Alaska has a strong impact on interest groups. Fourth, it is easier for individuals to have an impact on policymakers than in other states, and Alaska's politicians are more accessible. Finally, government is the major employer in Alaska.

Constitutional and statutory provisions also affect interest group activity. The U.S. and Alaska Constitutions protect the right of Alaskans to lobby government. Statutes establish a special agency, the Alaska Public Offices Commission (APOC), to administer regulations. The main provisions are that legislative and administrative lobbyists must register with APOC, and they must disclose their finances (including campaign contributions). State statutes do not cover all lobbyists, however: government representatives who lobby, as part of their job, "citizen" lobbyists, and individuals lobbying for pet projects are not covered by law.

Types of Interest Groups and Lobbyists

At the time of statehood, the federal government was the major force in Alaska. Organized interests then were--canneries, pulp mills, and mining interests. The number and type of interest groups has expanded since statehood. In the 1980s, the largest categories of groups were trade and professional associations and unions. Next in number of groups were educational groups and local governments (including school districts). Then come Native groups and the traditional resource-related groups--oil and gas companies, lumber, pulp, and mining companies. The biggest spenders have been oil and gas companies, followed (at a distance) by local governments and the Alaska Municipal League. The third biggest spender in 1979-80 was the communications lobby.

Non-registered groups are also important, though. Federal agencies continue to deal with Alaska public officials, but they now keep a lower profile. State agencies are active lobbyists (through their "legislative liaisons" and senior staffs), as are local governments and school districts. Finally, nonprofit organizations and public interest groups, along with "citizen lobbyists", troop to Juneau to represent their interests.

About one-third of the registered lobbyists in Juneau are "contract lobbyists". They are individuals often belonging to law firms who are hired by clients specifically to lobby. When Alaskans think about lobbying, it is usually these groups that they have in mind. "In-house lobbyists" make up the largest category of registered lobbyists; they are employees of organizations and lobby as part of their jobs. "Legislative liaisons" are not officially lobbyists, but they work the corridors of the legislature at some time or another.

The contract lobbyists are very experienced in legislative affairs, and most were once public officials themselves. The same observation does not apply to in-house lobbyists and liaisons, most of whom had no previous lobbying experience. A 1984 survey of legislators indicated that they

viewed lobbyists positively, and saw them as major sources of information and technical assistance.

Group and Lobbying Tactics

The purpose of lobbying is to gain access to decisionmakers, in an attempt to influence public policy. Alaska groups gain access and influence in a number of different ways. Major contract lobbyists often hold fund-raisers for candidates and contribute to their campaigns (but are not likely to align themselves with particular parties). Most groups who lobby during the legislative session send members to contact legislators in person. A number of groups join forces in coalitions and alliances, such as the environmental groups. Finally, a new type of lobbyists has appeared, who presents extensive technical information and employs networking. In general, however, lobbying tactics in Alaska are not yet as sophisticated as in many other states.

Effectiveness of Interest Groups

In the opinion of Clive Thomas, several groups once dominant in Alaska politics are now perceived as less effective. Chief among these is the oil industry which, in 1984, was not among the top 5 most effective lobbies. The Teamsters Union, a powerful force up through pipeline construction, is also in decline.

Based on surveys done in 1984, Thomas finds that three groups are perceived as most effective: the National Education Association (NEA-Alaska), Alaska Municipal League (AML), and the Alaska Public Employees Union (APEA). The success of these groups is attributed to their large membership, distribution throughout the state, organization and networking, and linkages with legislators. Other groups receiving mentions were Native organizations, environmentalists, agricultural interests, and the state Chamber of Commerce. A reassessment of the effectiveness of oil and APEA is now needed.

Some generalizations about interest group activity in the American states do not apply well to Alaska. Business interests do not dominate state government as they do in other states. The type and activity of Alaska's groups reflect the state's political economy, and resemble most closely interest groups in the Western states.

The amount of pluralism in Alaska's interest groups resembles that of the West, as does the rise of groups dependent on the government. In Alaska as in other Western states, there is no longer a dominant interest. Tactics in Alaska resemble those in the West too--a decline of "super-lobbyists" of the old wining and dining school, an increase in technical lobbyists, and a significant increase in the "hidden lobbyists" (government officials not required to register as lobbyists).

Differences between Alaska groups and those of the West are the slower development of political action committees in Alaska, the power that Native groups wield, and the huge revenues oil has brought. Groups in

Alaska are not subordinate to political parties. The environment for group influence is better in Alaska than in other states.

Glossary

APOC	citizen lobby	contract lobbyist
In-house lobbyist	interest group	lobbyist
PAC	pluralism	railbelt
"juice"	pork barrel	

True-False Questions

1. Interest groups in Alaska are among the most powerful in the nation.
2. Interest groups are like political parties in that they actively attempt to control and operate government.
3. A very important factor influencing the pattern of interest groups in Alaska is the weakness of the political party system.
4. The individualistic political culture in Alaska means that lobbying is done only by individuals.
5. The agency which regulates lobbying in Alaska is the APA.
6. The main thrust of Alaska law is direct control of lobbying, and not financial disclosure as is found in most states.
7. The largest categories of registered groups in Alaska as of 1983 were canneries, lumber and pulp companies, and mining interests.
8. The biggest spenders in recent years have been oil and gas companies.
9. Among non-registered lobbyists in Alaska, the major category is nonprofit, social service, and public interest groups.
10. The largest category of registered lobbyists in Alaska is legislative liaisons.
11. Most in-house lobbyists were once elected or appointed officials of state government.
12. Alaska legislators, like the broader public, tend to view lobbyists negatively.
13. Lobbying is "99 percent information and about 1 percent advocacy."
14. In recent years, one of the state's most prominent contract lobbying firms has been Trust Consultants, whose senior partner is Lewis Dischner.
15. Unlike the pattern in other states, Alaska's contract lobbyists almost never hold fund-raisers for candidates.
16. If you observe lobbying in Juneau, you will note a great deal of direct personal contact, where group members contact legislators in person.
17. The group in Alaska having the most "juice" in the early 1980s is the Teamsters.
18. The Alaska oil industry has always been the most dominant interest in the state.
19. One reason public employee unions are so powerful in Alaska is that a high percentage of the relevant workers are members.
20. In Alaska there is no lobbyist who can deliver on all issues at all times.
21. In contrast to the pattern identified by Zeigler, business interests have not been dominant in Alaska recently.

22. The strength of public employee unions in Alaska resembles most the situation in Southern states.

23. "Hidden lobbyists" have an increasing influence, especially in Western states.

24. One of the major functions of interest groups is called aggregation and articulation.

25. Declining revenues in Alaska are likely to result in a smaller number of groups entering the political arena.

Multiple-Choice Questions

- ___ 1. The terms "interest group" and "lobby" are:
 - a. Significantly different in that the former refers to organized groups and the latter refers to any attempt to influence policy
 - b. Somewhat different in that the former refers to groups in any arena and the latter refers to individuals or groups in the context of a legislature
 - c. Different only in that political scientists use lobby to refer to the interest group when it seeks to affect administrative or legislative deliberations
 - d. used interchangeably by the general public and scholars

- ___ 2. All of the following are important factors in the Alaska interest group environment EXCEPT:
 - a. existence of regional and local interests
 - b. personal nature of politics
 - c. weakness of party organizations
 - d. role of oil industry as major employer

- ___ 3. The reason that government representatives are not required to register as lobbyists is that:
 - a. they do not spend more than 4 hours in a 30-day period lobbying
 - b. they receive no salary or reimbursement for their expenses
 - c. they are specifically exempted by statute from registering
 - d. they do not seek to influence legislative or administrative action

- ___ 4. The main objective of Alaska law on interest groups is to:
 - a. directly control lobbyists
 - b. restrict the amount of money lobbyists can spend
 - c. prohibit fund-raisers held for legislators
 - d. disclose finances of lobbying activity

- ___ 5. The largest categories of registered groups are:
 - a. banking, finance, and insurance groups
 - b. trade and professional associations and unions
 - c. oil and gas companies
 - d. canneries, lumber and pulp, and mining companies

- ___ 6. Top interest group spenders in recent years have been:
 - a. local governments
 - b. the communications lobby
 - c. oil and gas companies
 - d. banks and insurance firms

7. The number of legislative liaisons is:
- about one-third of the 220 lobbyists registered with APOC
 - about 250, in an average legislative session
 - close to 35, if lawyers are excluded
 - difficult to determine because of their misleading titles
8. From the point of view of legislators, the most useful thing that lobbyists do is:
- wine and dine them
 - supply them with information and technical assistance
 - provide slush funds for them to use
 - tell them how to vote on important issues
9. In 1983, contract lobbyists with the largest number of clients were:
- Frank, Rasprovich, Torramozo & White
 - Trust Consultants, Mitch Gravo, Sam Kito, Ely, Guess & Rudd
 - Southeast and Southwest Regional Resource Centers
 - A.P. Pease, J.F. Burr, and W.L. Kubley
10. The most effective tactics used by Alaska lobbyists are:
- PACs, letter-writing campaigns, and fund-raisers
 - fund-raisers, direct personal contacts, coalitions
 - coalitions, alignment with parties, PACs
 - direct mail campaigns, PACs, threats
11. According to Thomas, groups with greatest relative power in Alaska are:
- public sector lobbyists
 - oil industry groups
 - environmentalists
 - Teamsters
12. A characteristic of the most powerful lobbying groups in the state is that they:
- are represented by lobbyists with considerable experience elected or appointed in state government, elected or appointed
 - have huge war chests and can bankroll elections of most legislators
 - are reputed to be among the most sophisticated of America's state lobbyists
 - depend directly on or represent government
13. Which of the following generalizations of interest group developments does Alaska fit best?
- in states where interest groups are strong, active groups are dominated by business
 - pluralism is not a factor in the overall strength of groups in strong-lobby states
 - strong-lobby states have small bureaucracies
 - none of the above

14. Alaska's interest groups are like those of Western states in all of the following respects EXCEPT:

- a. Native groups wield considerable power
- b. groups related to or dependent on government are very powerful
- c. business, public interest, minority, and environmental groups have become more active
- d. laws provide public information about who is lobbying and how much they spend

15. Among the important advantages of interest groups are:

- a. they distribute influence and funds to the greatest number
- b. they are vehicles of representation for their members between elections
- c. they fragment political power which avoids corruption
- d. they coordinate influence better than political parties

Essay Questions

1. Compare the activity of interest groups in Alaska with the pattern in other Western states, pointing out the chief areas of difference (and indicating reasons for whatever differences you discover).

2. Compare the pattern of interest groups activity in Alaska at statehood with that Thomas writes about in the early 1980s. What accounts for the greater prominence in recent years of public sector organizations? for the decline in influence of federal agencies?

3. In what ways does the power of interest groups in Alaska politics negatively influence political party organizations? Would changes in party rules--such as elimination of the blanket primary--be likely to weaken group influence? Why or why not?

INSTRUCTIONAL UNIT #8

"Public Opinion in Alaska"

Learning Objectives

- Be able to define what public opinion is, and tell how it is measured
- Understand the relationships of opinion and public policy
- Be able to distinguish scientific from straw polls, and give examples
- Know the ways in which scientific polling is done today in Alaska
- Be able to describe some characteristics of the Alaska lifestyle which have a bearing on Alaska politics
- Describe the way most Alaskans balance traditional and modern lifestyle interests
- Understand Alaskans' opinions on economic growth, development, and the state's economy
- Develop a sense of the way people look at development of different resources, for example oil and gas development
- Know what opinions Alaskans have of government at different levels
- Understand reactions of the public to government programs, such as the Permanent Fund dividends
- Understand where Alaskans place themselves ideologically

Overview

This unit describes the way in which Alaskans are disposed to respond to government and politics, understood through their opinions and attitudes. The first of four subjects is opinion and attitude measurement, including analysis of the way modern polling is done in Alaska. Second, the cultural perspectives which influence political action, particularly rural and urban lifestyles, are investigated. The third section discusses opinions Alaskans have about economic development issues--economic growth generally, and opinions on oil and gas development specifically. A fourth topic is opinions of Alaskans toward public institutions--federal, state, and local governments. The unit concludes with a brief discussion on political beliefs of Alaskans.

Synopsis of "Public Opinion in Alaska" (based on Richard Ender's chapter "Public Opinion and Political Attitudes in Alaska," in text)

Measuring Opinions and Attitudes in Alaska

Public opinion is what people (a group of individuals, usually) say about public policy--whether they dislike an official or program (and want to change it, and how strongly they feel about it. In democratic societies, public opinion counts, but it doesn't always have a constant impact on public policy.

We measure public opinion in two ways--through straw polls or scientific polling. Straw polls are a convenient measure of opinion, but they do not often reflect public views accurately. Scientific polls choose a

sample of people whose characteristics represent the broader public. Much of the polling in Alaska has been unscientific. Scientific polls are not easy to do in the state, because the population is far-flung, diverse in cultural characteristics, and not accessible to interviewers at low cost.

What we know about the opinions of Alaskans comes from the results of telephone surveying. Personal interviewing is used only for complex studies, and mail surveys in Alaska are most appropriate for specialized populations. Like the collection of information on public opinion, so the reporting of results is unsystematic. Often, little care is taken in assessing the credibility of research, producing what passes for public opinion but is not an indication of the public mind.

Demographic Bases to Alaska's Public Opinion

The Alaska value system includes such items as individualism, living close to nature, and following an unhurried, easygoing lifestyle. Such values have been found important in Anchorage and Fairbanks as well as in rural Alaska, where subsistence pursuits are common. Although urban residents do not live the subsistence lifestyle, they do appreciate the hunting and fishing opportunities available in Alaska.

Both urban and rural residents of Alaska appreciate the modern amenities of good schools, health care, public safety, good roads, recreational opportunities, and adequate stores. The question in Alaska is the balance of traditional and modern lifestyles. Despite what appear to be vivid rural-urban differences over resource use, recent surveys show that differences are less sharp than imagined. For example, most Alaskans acknowledge a need for a rural subsistence priority, a finding which holds in urban as well as rural areas of the state. A large percentage of Alaskans believe the quality of hunting and fishing has declined in recent times. And the balance between those idealizing the Alaskan lifestyle and those living it has changed, with actual subsistence users declining in numbers.

Opinions on Policy Issues

Issues commanding public attention in Alaska follow changes in economic conditions and other factors. Growth and development issues generate the most heat and conflict. In general, Alaskans oppose growth in the size and population of their own communities, while favoring economic development in general. Urban and railbelt residents support development more than rural Alaskans.

Recent polls show support for further oil and gas development in the state, based on the contribution this industry has made to the state's finances. Areas with little experience of oil and gas development, such as rural regions and towns like Homer, may oppose development. Also, Alaskans are not uncritical of the oil industry: most believe it wasted money building the pipeline, and that it is not sincere in wanting to solve the energy shortage.

Surveys of reactions of Alaskans to particular kinds of oil and gas developments in different regions show support for development in general, but opposition to development in their backyards. Part of the favorable

attitudes toward this industry is attributable to public relations efforts of the Alaska Oil and Gas Association and individual companies.

A range of other types of economic development opportunity is supported, with variation from one community to another. For example, the Susitna hydroelectric project was consistently supported in southcentral (the area to receive primary benefits), but interior and rural residents have been divided about it. In short, when benefits are clearly apparent (and development-induced change minimal), Alaskans support development.

Attitudes toward Public Institutions

Alaskans generally are skeptical toward public institutions. A survey in 1983 found more favorable impressions of municipal service delivery (66 percent liked it) than state (48 percent) or federal (36 percent) service delivery. Popular ratings of governors have not been very high, nor have the state House and Senate gotten high marks in polls. But individual legislators are well-liked (and regularly returned to office) as are federal officeholders.

The critical attitudes Alaskans have toward government may be related to political cultural dispositions, and they may reflect ambivalence because Alaskans depend on government despite their "go-it-alone" attitudes. Additional evidence for this view is found in perceptions that the state government cannot be trusted to use oil wealth for the benefit of all Alaskans, and consistently high support for the Permanent Fund and the dividend program. This public support for saving some oil wealth conflicts with the public's support for a vast subsidy system built on oil revenues. And public opinion on the rate of oil industry taxation has changed too. In general, Alaska's policymakers get mixed signals from the public in their attempt to manage the state's oil wealth.

When the beliefs of Alaskans are evaluated with regard to ideology, one finds that between 43 and 47 percent can be labeled moderate, 22-24 percent liberal, and 29-34 percent conservative. Conservatives are found disproportionately in the railbelt area, and liberals in southeast and rural areas. Although most Alaskans identify themselves as nonpartisan, when asked to choose about an even number select the Republican as the Democratic party.

In sum, public opinion has played a role in the state's recent development, as seen in expanded programs of the 1970s and 1980s (in response to public wants). But the public has given conflicting signals: it has called for cutbacks in spending and elimination of waste while supporting maintenance and expansion of programs and projects.

Glossary

railbelt communities
Susitna project

scientific poll
Permanent Fund

straw poll
Alaska Oil and Gas Assoc.

True-False Questions

1. Public opinion has been important only since the development of polls and surveys.
2. Straw polls represent views of the broad public asked opinions on issues.
3. Scientific polls try to choose a sample of individuals whose characteristics are representative of everyone in the population.
4. The opinion survey technique used most frequently in Alaska is the telephone survey.
5. The main reason that poll results are questioned is because of methodological weaknesses.
6. Individualism, living close to nature, and following an unhurried lifestyle are important attributes for rural but not urban Alaskans.
7. In 1985, about 48 percent of all Alaska households participated in hunting and 76 percent in fishing activities at least once that year.
8. The toughness of Alaskans is shown in the fact that most do not want improved services and other modern amenities.
9. A majority of all Alaskans support subsistence priority for rural Alaskans.
10. Alaskans favor economic development as long as it does not occur in their backyards.
11. Many Alaskans supported "closed entry" because they thought it meant closing Alaska's borders to further immigration.
12. Recent opinion polls have found public support for further oil development.
13. A majority of Alaskans have positive views of oil companies in the state.
14. The Alaska Oil and Gas Association has conducted a substantial public relations effort to win public support for oil development.
15. A majority of southcentral residents in the 1980s strongly opposed the Susitna project.
16. Alaska's governors get uniformly high marks from the public when their performance in office is assessed.
17. Despite the high ratings accorded the state house and senate in polls, legislators regularly are voted out of office.
18. Polls show that citizens favor investing oil wealth, using it to create permanent funds or treating it as capital.
19. Public support for saving some oil wealth is consistent with attitudes toward the subsidy system built on oil revenues.
20. Alaskans widely support the permanent fund dividend program, and it is politically difficult to attack, even when revenues are declining.
21. The political ideologies of Alaskans are substantially different from national trends.
22. The most conservative Alaskans are found in Juneau.
23. The role of public opinion in Alaska is indicated by the many attempts of groups to mobilize and manipulate it, as in efforts of the organizing committee for the Anchorage winter olympics.

Multiple-Choice Questions

- ___ 1. The unwillingness of Alaska officials to attack the Permanent Fund dividend program directly is an indication of:
 - a. the majority rule model of opinion's impact on policy
 - b. the consistency model
 - c. the "satisfying" model
 - d. the organizational reaction model

- ___ 2. Man-on-the-street interviews about Governor Cowper's re-election chances are an example of:
 - a. scientific, random polling
 - b. scientific, non-random polling
 - c. unscientific, straw polling
 - d. none of the above

- ___ 3. Special problems of conducting scientific opinion polls in Alaska include all of the following EXCEPT:
 - a. language barriers
 - b. lack of telephones in many rural communities
 - c. high field costs
 - d. high refusal rates

- ___ 4. The opinion survey technique used most often in Alaska is:
 - a. telephone survey
 - b. face-to-face surveys
 - c. mail survey
 - d. combinations of mail and phone surveys

- ___ 5. Opportunities to hunt, fish, and camp are important to:
 - a. rural residents only
 - b. Anchorage and Fairbanks residents, but not Juneau residents
 - c. all Alaskans outside of Anchorage
 - d. a majority of Alaskans, irrespective of residence

- ___ 6. The main difference between urban and rural residents in their opinions about Alaskan values is that:
 - a. urban residents value wilderness activities and participate in them regularly
 - b. urban residents follow daily lifestyles incorporating natural forces
 - c. urban residents talk about wilderness, rural residents live in it
 - d. there is no difference; neither urban nor rural residents participate in rigorous subsistence activities

- ___ 7. Surveys show that the desire for modern conveniences is:
 - a. restricted to Caucasian city residents
 - b. more prevalent in urban than rural locales
 - c. no lower in rural than urban sites
 - d. related to income level: the more you have, the more you want

- ___ 8. The percentage of the Alaska population actually practicing the subsistence lifestyle has _____ in recent years:
 - a. increased
 - b. declined
 - c. stayed the same
 - d. declined until hard times hit the state in 1986, when it increased

- ___ 9. Most supportive of resource development in Alaska are:
- rural Alaskans
 - residents of Homer
 - urban-railbelt residents
 - residents of Anchorage only
- ___ 10. Most Alaskans are _____ about the impact of oil and gas development on Alaska.
- negative
 - ambivalent
 - positive
 - unsure
- ___ 11. Support for oil and gas development declines when:
- people expect negative effects and have little experience with the industry
 - people live near development projects, even if they get large economic benefits from it
 - people receive fewer economic benefits than promised by the oil and gas industry
 - the industry is criticized by public figures
- ___ 12. Alaskans are most satisfied with which level of government services?
- federal
 - state
 - municipal
 - tribal
- ___ 13. The practice of criticizing legislative institutions, while re-electing legislators, is:
- unique to Alaska
 - typical of Western states
 - typical of state residents throughout the U.S.
 - typical of Americans generally
- ___ 14. When asked what to do with the state's oil bounty, the message Alaskans send public officials is:
- consistent over time
 - confusing and contradictory
 - dependent on where they live: urban residents urge conservation, rural residents call for increased spending
 - none of the above
- ___ 15. The largest single ideological grouping of Alaskans is the:
- liberals
 - conservatives
 - moderates
 - radicals

Essay Questions

1. What are the main ways in which you could find out how Alaskans feel about a current topic in oil and gas development, such as opening up the Arctic National Wildlife Range (ANWR) for exploration? In your essay, discuss how you would attempt to measure rural as well as urban sentiments.

2. Over the course of statehood, how much impact has public opinion had on the development of state public policy? Discuss by evaluating your knowledge of public opinion and political attitudes of Alaskans in view of the three models presented by Ender.

3. In what areas of public life do the opinions of Alaskans seem to be most stable? most changeable? most contradictory? What accounts for these conditions of the public mind?

INSTRUCTIONAL UNIT #9

The Alaska PressLearning Objectives

- Be able to distinguish press from broadcast media, and understand the role of each in the state's development
- Know the ways in which the press functions, nationally and locally, as critic and handmaiden of government
- Understand the role that the press may play in oversight of government including bureaucratic institutions
- Describe the changes in broadcast media in Alaska, and be able to picture the present-day TV and radio industry
- Describe briefly the development of newspapers in Anchorage and Fairbanks
- Understand the controversies of press and public through analysis of recent issues, such as the capitol move, Native land claims, pipeline construction, and mining
- Be able to describe the age, turnover, and salary characteristics of the journalists in Alaska
- Know the status of issues concerning the Alaska press, especially:
 - o libel laws
 - o press shield laws
 - o open meeting laws

Overview

The unit considers five subjects briefly. It begins with discussion of the role the media may play in American politics. The Alaska media are then presented, both broadcast media of TV and radio and newspapers. Then attention shifts to examples of reporting on recent issues of moment in the state. Who journalists are is discussed briefly, along with analysis of legal and constitutional issues of the media.

Synopsis of "Press in Alaska," (based on chapter by Richard Fineberg, "The Press and Alaska Politics," in text)

The Media's Role

Until recently, "media" in Alaska referred to the state's three largest circulation newspapers. Since the late 1970s, TV and radio broadcasts have also figured in the gathering and reporting of news.

Analytically, the press is regarded as both critic and aide to government. As a critic, the press focuses on decisions and actions of the elite, and emphasizes areas of public discontent. As handmaiden, the press relies on information supplied by the elite, oversimplifies complex behavior, and legitimizes actions of elites. Practicing journalists do not always see their job in these terms, and some claim to be motivated only by the "truth".

The mechanics of the medium influence what it can do. There is little space available for news in the average paper or TV/radio show. Most of the news comes from government sources. And the media are mostly owned by private individuals or firms, who are not likely to tolerate devastating criticisms of the private sector. In short, any simple characterizations of what the media are and do, and their interrelationships with government, are likely to be incomplete.

A Snapshot of Journalism in Alaska

Although 42 newspapers are published in Alaska, only three reach large audiences: Anchorage Daily News, Anchorage Times, and the Fairbanks Daily News-Miner. Most of the adults in interior and southcentral Alaska read one of these newspapers daily.

TV and radio stations were once available in few communities, but in the late 1970s they had spread to most communities with more than 500 residents. Public TV and radio are also more prevalent in the 1980s in Alaska than previously. Finally, the legislature has contracted with reporting groups to report events of the legislature to the mass public.

However, until recent years "media" in the Alaska context referred to newspapers only. The state's premier paper until the late 1970s was the Anchorage Times, published and edited by Robert Atwood. With the largest circulation until the late 1970s, this paper relentlessly promoted economic development of the state and movement of the capitol from Juneau to Anchorage.

A press war developed between the Times and the Anchorage Daily News, with the latter paper winning the circulation battle in the 1980s. The News is also a somewhat more liberal paper than the Times, and it is now controlled by an outside organization, the McClatchy group.

The state's third newspaper is the Fairbanks Daily News-Miner, the largest circulation newspaper of interior and northern Alaska. This paper resembles the Times in important respects, not the least of which is its conservative orientation. Its publisher, C.W. Snedden, also has a strong orientation as a boomer.

Reporting the Issues in the Alaska Media

Press coverage has an impact on the action of government and the awareness of the public. Each of the three main newspapers in Alaska has attempted to sway the public mood on important public issues. The first example is the capitol move issue. The publisher of the Anchorage Times was widely regarded as a strong proponent of the move, and this influenced newspaper coverage: the newspaper focused an inordinate amount of attention on this issue, it slanted coverage to favor the pro-move position, and it used news columns to defend the move concept.

The Anchorage Daily News devoted many column inches to the poverty, disease and transition of Alaska Native communities in the 1960s. When land claims became an issue in the late 1960s, the paper criticized the position of the state government relentlessly. Complaints about its bias

led to an apology on the part of the management. In a second case, the paper won general acclaim. This was the investigative reporting that led to a nine-part series on the questionable activities of Alaska's then most powerful union, the Teamsters.

The Fairbanks Daily News-Miner had championed the cause of miners who struggled to produce minerals against the strictures of environmental regulations. The coverage of this paper became somewhat more balanced in 1980, when it pictured the effects of mining on Alaska's streams and sport fishing interests. The investigative journalism of this newspaper, however, was the critical variable in the impeachment investigation of Governor Bill Sheffield in 1985. It was a News-Miner reporter who unravelled information about the attempt at bid-rigging, which led to a grand jury investigation and special session of the legislature concerning impeachment.

Journalists in Alaska

Alaska journalists are younger than those in other states, with the average age being about 30. The press (including, in this case, TV and radio) has a very high rate of turnover, for several reasons: salaries are very low (much below those in the private sector or government generally); the environment for journalists is harsh (as it is for other professions); and the career stimulates mobility.

Considering the large size of Alaska, and the complexity of issues confronting the state during active oil and gas development, the number of reporters is small. Few newspapers send reporters to cover news of the legislature and bureaucracy. The public news in Alaska is thus under-reported in comparison to other states.

Media Issues in Alaska

Two aspects of the legal system have a bearing on the operation of the Alaska press. First, libel and shield laws are of concern to the press, but there has been no apparent impact of the laws on press behavior. Second, open meeting laws have had a significant impact on press behavior. Open meeting laws provide that all meetings of state and local government be open to the public. This is of particular importance to the press, which regards itself as the champion and representative of the public.

Several newspapers have been especially vigilant in protecting the public's right to know of public meetings. And the press has been vigorous in seeking public documents that have a bearing on major issues. Because some bureaucratic agencies tend to withhold information, justifying the restriction in terms of privacy legislation, this action of the press may be controversial.

In short, the Alaska press frequently competes with government. Because government in Alaska is proportionately larger than in other states, and because the press is younger, the conflict often seems very intense. But more often than not, the central issue is not government-press conflict, but conflict between the government and other views, with the press attempting to express both.

Glossary

libel laws
sunset laws

open meetings
sunshine laws

shield laws
Robert Atwood

True-False Questions

1. Until recently, news coverage by Alaska television and radio stations was substantially different from that by newspapers.
2. To political scientists Paletz and Entman, the press functions as both critic and aide to government.
3. Most journalists see their job as either lambasting or legitimating the institutions of government.
4. Problems of deadlines and space limitations limit what reporters can do, no matter how thoughtful and honest they are.
5. The relationship between the press and government is distant, with neither party having much to do with the other.
6. In 1985 about 100 newspapers were published in Alaska.
7. The most influential newspapers in Alaska today are the: Anchorage Daily News, Juneau Empire, and Peninsula Clarion.
8. Broadcasters have become a significant part of the Alaska news scene since statehood in 1959.
9. The competition between the two Anchorage papers is among the most robust and intense in the nation.
10. The newspaper with the largest circulation in Alaska is the Fairbanks Daily News-Miner.
11. A major force promoting the capitol move was the Anchorage Times and its publisher Robert Atwood.
12. The position of the Anchorage Daily News toward the Native Land Claims issue could be regarded as neutral and objective.
13. Investigation of the Teamsters union not only won a Pulitzer Prize for the Anchorage Daily News, it also led to the firing of union boss Jesse Carr.
14. Prior to 1980, the Fairbanks Daily News-Miner had taken a strong environmentalist position on the issue of mining in interior Alaska waters.
15. It was an expose in the Nome Nugget which led to an impeachment inquiry about the Sheffield administration.
16. Reporters in Alaska tend to be much older than those in other states.
17. The high turnover in the Alaska press corps is primarily attributable to money: salaries are low.
18. Given the size of Alaska and the complexity of issues in its social and economic development, the press corps is very small.
19. Libel and shield laws present greater problems of concern to the Alaska press than to media in other states.
20. Few reporters or newspapers in Alaska are concerned with access to government meetings and documents.
21. The role of the press in Alaska is relatively less important than in other states, because government is less important and there are a large number of watch dogs.
22. To say that the Alaska press is constantly in conflict with the state government is simplistic.

Multiple-Choice Questions

- ___ 1. Over the period of statehood, the most important component of the Alaska media has been:
- television
 - radio
 - newspapers
 - newsletters
- ___ 2. The press can serve as the unwitting handmaiden of government in all the following ways EXCEPT:
- relying on statements and views of elites
 - focusing on discord, debate, and confusion in the political arena
 - oversimplifying complex events and focusing on immediate conflicts
 - legitimizing the economic and social systems controlled by elites
- ___ 3. Much of the material that gets into the news is from:
- original investigative reporting of journalists
 - press conferences, press releases, and other official sources
 - wire service reports
 - ruminations of media stars
- ___ 4. Most of the newspapers in Alaska are:
- large urban papers such as the Anchorage Times
 - regional papers similar to the Fairbanks Daily News-Miner
 - local editions of national papers, such as the Seattle Post
 - small community publications focusing on local issues
- ___ 5. One way in which the Alaska media are different from those of other states is that until recently:
- broadcast journalism took a back seat to newspapers in reporting on state government
 - there were more public than private radio and TV stations
 - rural areas had no radio and TV coverage at all
 - the state legislature permitted reporters to cover sessions, but it excluded TV cameras and radio broadcasts
- ___ 6. Of all the Alaska newspapers, the one which could be considered the most significant institution in the state's political development is:
- Peninsula Clarion
 - Anchorage Daily News
 - Anchorage Times
 - Juneau Empire
- ___ 7. In 1985, about ___ percent of Anchorage's adult population read one or both of the city's newspapers daily:
- 25
 - 40
 - 75
 - 95
- ___ 8. The position which the Anchorage Times took on the capitol move could be described most accurately as:
- subjective; it sought to sway public opinion against moving the capitol
 - subjective; it sought to sway public opinion in favor of the move
 - objective; it presented the pros and cons of the move, without attempting to influence the minds of readers
 - both subjective and objective, depending on the balance of forces

9. The chief difference between the two Anchorage newspapers is that:
- one is conservative, the other liberal
 - one is owned by Alaskans, the other by outsiders
 - one is a booster of hometown interests, the other champions grand causes and forgets about what happens at home
 - one reads like the National Enquirer, the other like the Bible Gazette
10. The examples of the Alaska Teamsters story and the Fairbanks state office lease series put a lie to the claim that:
- Alaska newspapers are servants of the rich and famous
 - Alaska newspapers aren't able to do good investigative reporting
 - Alaska newspapers are large capitalistic concerns
 - Alaska newspapers cover only the highlights of government activity
11. Compared to other Western states, the Alaska press corps is:
- large
 - about the same
 - small
 - incompetent
12. With limited exceptions, Alaska statutes guarantee:
- access to state university education by all those who graduate from high school
 - access to possession of any amount of marijuana by those of legal age
 - access to private statistics and medical records
 - access to government meetings and most public documents
13. The role of the press in covering government is more important in Alaska than in the other states, because:
- Alaska is a larger territory with more valuable resources
 - government in Alaska plays a relatively larger role
 - Alaska issues are more important nationally than those of any other state
 - none of the above; the role of the press is less important in Alaska than in other states

Essay Questions

- Write an essay on who owns the media in Alaska, including both newspapers, radio and TV broadcasting stations. What relationship is there between ownership and orientation of the media? Does the fact that most of the media are privately owned mean that all media boost the private sector and criticize government? Discuss.
- How do journalists and broadcasters in Alaska compare to those in other states? What aspects of the media make it difficult to attract the highest quality of professionals?
- What are the important ways in which the press in Alaska serve the public by acting in its stead? To what extent does the dependence of the media on government for information detract from the important watch dog role that the press plays? Discuss.

INSTRUCTIONAL UNIT #10

The Alaska LegislatureLearning Objectives

- Understand the main functions and activities of the legislature in
 - o lawmaking
 - o representation
 - o checking and balancing other branches of government
 - o overseeing administration
- Recall what the Framers of the Alaska Constitution had in mind when they designed the legislative branch
- Understand changes in rural and urban representation in the legislature
- Know what the social and economic background of legislators is
- Understand the different ways individuals are recruited to run for the legislature
- Be able to explain the limitation on session length, and what this implies for legislative professionalism
- Know who the "Sunshine Boys" were and what role they played in formation of state policy
- Know what formal leadership positions there are in the House and Senate, how they are selected, and what powers they have
- Understand the way the legislature prepared the budget before the oil boom of the late 1970s, and be able to point out the ways in which budgeting changed in the 1980s
- Know what provisions there are for accountability of legislators to the public and legislative ethics
- Understand the bargaining relationship between governor and legislators in developing operating and capital budgets
- Be able to compare the Alaska legislature to those of other states with respect to its representativeness

Overview

The unit begins with introductory comments about legislatures, and information on what the framers intended the Alaska legislature to be. The first section discusses the composition of the legislature--changes in representation, social and economic background of legislators, and recruitment to the legislature. The second section examines the extent to which the Alaska legislature is a profession or "calling" for its members, and looks at reform within the legislature. Organization and leadership of the legislature are presented briefly in the third section. Finally, the legislative budget process is discussed.

Synopsis of Alaska Legislature (Based on chapter by Stephen Johnson, "The Alaska Legislature," in text)

Introduction

The Alaska legislature is different from that of other states because of its historical context, institutional and social environment,

membership, organization, and operation. Citizens of Alaska pay more attention to their legislature than do residents of other states (but they like it no more).

The territorial legislature was weak, and framers of the state constitution sought to make the new legislature strong. They did this by giving the legislature broad powers along with discretion--unlimited session length, adequate pay provisions, and a strong legislative council. As the state became oil-wealthy, the legislature became the focus of attention in the process of distributing benefits.

Composition of the Alaska Legislature

Over the statehood period, the number of legislators representing urban areas has increased and today they have nearly a majority of seats. However, urban legislators have short tenure (their seats are more competitive), and rural legislators, with long tenure, are disproportionately influential. In recent legislatures, chairs of both senate and house finance committees have been Natives from rural Alaska.

The "typical" Alaska legislator in the 1980s is a white male, in the 40s (if in the House; Senate members are, on the average, 10 years older). The most prevalent occupation is business. Most legislators were born outside Alaska. Most have a college degree and have served one previous term in the legislature. In these respects, the legislature is not representative of the general population of the state, because it underrepresents women, minorities, and youth while overrepresenting men, business and professional people. Like the pattern in other states, Alaskans elect local boys who have made good and share their values, but who are not mirror images of themselves.

A proportionately larger than average number of individuals are interested in running for the legislature. Most claim to be because of interest in public affairs or a sense of obligation to the public. And many claim that friends, constituents, backers, or party officials prevail upon them to run. But parties do little recruiting for legislative office, and most candidates are "self-starters". Interest groups and wealthy individuals play a small role in recruitment. And those who have been legislative staff members often run for office themselves.

Legislative elections are not equally competitive. The most competition and highest turnover are found in Anchorage. Incumbents have good staying power in other regions of the state, and turnover would be lower if there were less frustration with the process and distance from home.

Legislative Professionalism

A question often asked of state legislatures is whether members take their jobs to be a temporary duty or a "calling" to make law and policy. A chief criterion of professionalism is that the legislature is full-time, without restrictions on session length. The framers of Alaska's constitution placed no limits on session length, but in 1984 voters amended the constitution by limiting sessions to 120 days. A number of sessions

had exceeded that length (including over 165 days in 1982), and voters objected to the wrangling, alleged conflicts of interest, and appearance of disorganization and time-wasting. Additionally, many commentators said that long sessions made service by "citizen legislators" impossible. The counter-arguments--that short sessions would strengthen the governor's hand in budget-making, and that special interests would benefit disproportionately--found little support.

Alaska sits higher on other criteria of professionalism. Increasingly, legislators consider their work to be their primary job and in many cases their major source of income. And the Alaska legislature responded very quickly to the challenge of the oil bonanza, as a new group of professional legislators assumed power. This group was called the "sunshine boys".

One factor bringing the "sunshine boys" to power was reformism inspired by the Watergate scandal. But more important factors were the broadly shared perception that \$900 million received for leases sold in 1969 was wasted by earlier legislatures and that oil companies were a danger to the state. The 1974 elections brought to power these young idealists, many of whom had been "ad hoc" Democrats from the anti-Vietnam and pro-reform wing of their party. With Republican populist Jay Hammond as governor, they dominated state government for several years in the 1970s.

Policies from this era included several "sunshine" laws: the state's campaign finance disclosure law, referendum on conflict of interest, and a lobbying regulation law. Such reforms, they hoped, would open up government to public scrutiny when oil wealth began to flow. The second part of their agenda was to provide a mechanism to preserve the benefits of the oil bonanza, which was accomplished in the establishment of the Permanent Fund in 1976. The era of "sunshine reforms" came to an end in 1981, when a Republican-led coalition seized power of the House in a coup. But several of the reforms they initiated, particularly the Permanent Fund and opening up the legislative process, have remained.

Legislative Organization and Leadership

Unlike most states, where the majority party in each house organizes and holds leadership of the legislature, in Alaska whatever coalition forms a majority holds power. The weakness of party discipline was graphically revealed in June, 1981, when leadership of the House switched from a Democratic majority to a Republican-dominated coalition.

Informal leaders are deferred to because of their expertise, such as that of former Rep. Hugh Malone on the Permanent Fund. Formal leaders control the day-to-day operations of the legislature. The Senate is led by a president, elected by a majority of the membership. The President appoints a five-person committee (including the president) which fills committees and denominates chairs. Who will be nominated is settled in the negotiating over Senate organization, the most important feature of which is selection of the President.

A Speaker presides over the house. This position is filled by the majority's organization, but the process is simpler than that of the Senate where usually there is more difficulty finding a clear party majority. The powers of House Speaker and Senate President are similar, because the legislature operates under uniform rules.

Leaders of the houses assign bills to committee and rule on parliamentary questions. Leaders also determine the majority party membership on the standing committees. Each house also has majority party leaders (and leaders of the minority as well), and these offices are the most partisan in the legislature. Rivaling the Speaker and President in influence, however, are the chairs of the House and Senate finance committees.

Legislative Budgeting

The legislative budgeting process was transformed by the oil bonanza of the late 1970s and early 1980s, as the budget grew from \$400 million in 1974 to over \$5 billion in 1981--when oil revenues peaked. In the mid-1980s Alaska's budget has been dependent on oil revenues for 85 percent of non-federal revenues. The legislature appropriates funds in anticipation of revenues for the coming fiscal year.

Each year the governor submits operating and capital budgets to the legislature, and both budgets are extensively revised by the legislature. In the 1970s, Alaska used the program budget concept; and a unique feature was a "free" conference committee of both houses to reconcile differences. This committee rewrote sections of the budget from scratch. The "sunshine" reforms virtually eliminated this step. The massive increases in revenue increased the number of "pork barrel" appropriations for capital projects, and this reduced review and accountability. The method developed to handle capital budgets gave each legislator a dollar amount to spend on his or her district, for whatever was wanted. Members were reluctant to have their pet projects questioned, and as a result they also found it difficult to question those of others. Negotiations with the governor followed this pattern, so that the House, Senate, and Governor each claimed one-third of a "veto-proof" state capital budget.

Other changes resulting from the huge infusion of cash were an increase in charges of conflicts of interest, and the dismissal of one legislator, Senator George Hohman, on bribery charges. Another result was elimination of the state's income tax in 1979. A further effect was the breaking down of party discipline. Mixed party coalitions became the rule. In general terms, the oil bonanza created a situation lacking in accountability, where there was no longer any set of incentives for fiscal responsibility.

The Alaska legislature emerges from analysis as a good representative body, to which citizens of the state have ready access. The lawmaking and balancing roles of the legislature are less well-developed. The oil bonanza has increased fragmentation of power and coalition government.

Glossary

Ad Hoc Democrats	biennial legislature	sunshine boys
citizen legislator	incremental budgeting	unicameral legislature
legislative veto	logrolling	populist
program budget system	standing committee	

True-False Questions

1. Alaskans pay less attention to their legislature than do citizens of other states.

2. Framers of the Alaska Constitution demonstrated their confidence in the legislature by giving it broad discretion to fashion the details of government.

3. In the mid-1980s, non-Anchorage members of the legislature tended to have much higher rates of tenure than Anchorage members.

4. Women, Alaska Natives, and commercial fishermen are a majority of the members of the Alaska legislature.

5. "Birthright" characteristics--race, religion, ethnic/national background--are more important attributes in recruitment of legislators in Alaska than in other states.

6. Alaska legislators in general are employed in lower status occupations and have less education than the population as a whole.

7. Alaska seems to have a smaller than normal pool of people who are interested in running for public office.

8. Alaska's legislators tend to resemble "advertisers" and "lawmakers," more than "spectators" and "reluctants."

9. A factor of importance in most states' recruitment to the legislature but not present in Alaska is support of individual and organizational leaders.

10. The most competitive legislative elections are usually found in urban Alaska.

11. The statement "a good legislature is a legislature not in session" lends support to the view that professional legislatures are best.

12. Length of legislative sessions has a primary impact on the ability of the legislature to carry out its constitutional purpose.

13. The Alaska "Sunshine Boys" came to power on a crest of dissatisfaction with Richard Nixon and the Watergate era in American politics.

14. A characteristic of the reform period in the Alaska legislature (1974-1981) was that the reformers were out for personal gain at the expense of what was right for Alaska.

15. If you were to ask Alaska legislators what their role was, almost all would say that they were legislative professionals.

16. In 1981 the House of Representatives switched from a Democratic majority to a Republican-dominated coalition.

17. Under the uniform rules of the legislature, the powers of the speaker of the House resemble those of the president of the Senate.

18. Before 1979, most of the Alaska state budget was "pork barrel", and the ability of a region to get a school or road depended entirely on the skill of its legislator.

19. The "equal-thirds" system of budgeting that developed in the 1980s was designed to "veto-proof" the state capital budget.

20. The legislature's elimination of the state income tax in 1979 removed the only direct tie that "taxpayers" had with state government appropriations.

21. The Permanent Fund is a marvelous example of the legislature responding to special interests.

22. Citizens in Alaska probably have less access to legislators than citizens of any other American state.

23. Whatever our opinions of legislative professionalism happen to be, it is definitely the case that the greater the professionalism of the legislature, the greater the legislature's check on the executive.

Multiple-Choice Questions

___ 1. The Alaska State Legislature is intended to perform all the following functions EXCEPT:

- a. lawmaking
- b. adjudication of competing interests
- c. checking and balancing of other branches of government
- d. overseeing administration

___ 2. The view most Alaskans have of their legislature is that:

- a. their liberties are safest when it is not in session
- b. it would be best for the legislature to meet one day every 120 years, and not 120 days every year
- c. the legislature should meet continually to resolve the important issues of statehood
- d. their legislators are generally good, but the legislature as an institution is a problem

___ 3. Over the period of statehood, the representation of rural and urban regions has changed in that:

- a. rural areas have fewer seats, but their legislators have longer tenure
- b. rural areas have fewer seats, and their legislators have shorter tenure
- c. rural areas have more seats, and their legislators have longer tenure
- d. rural areas have more seats, but their legislators have shorter tenure

___ 4. The state legislature overrepresents:

- a. non-white women educators
- b. white male businessmen
- c. Native women industrialists
- d. Native male subsistence hunters and fishermen

5. Historically, one of the pressures limiting the length of legislative sessions has been from:
- lawyers who need time at periodic intervals to deal with client needs
 - businessmen who must deal with Christmas and Easter sales periods
 - fishermen who want to leave Juneau in time for the salmon runs
 - housepersons who need to leave Juneau before school gets out
6. One of the reasons that Alaska has a disproportionately large number of people interested in running for public office is that:
- Alaskans are poorly educated
 - organizations, such as political parties, encourage people to run
 - there are relatively more electoral opportunities in Alaska than in other states
 - Alaska seems to attract a much larger number of civic-spirited persons than other states
7. A characteristic shared by most recent aspirants for legislative office in Alaska is that they are:
- self-starters
 - supported by political parties
 - supported by interest groups
 - supported by good government associations, such as the League of Women Voters
8. With oil development, Alaska's legislature became:
- more professional
 - dominated by citizen amateurs
 - clown town
 - a rodeo
9. According to the text, the chief difference between a professional and amateur legislature is that the former has:
- adequate professional staff and counsel
 - a salary commission in the legislature which determines wages
 - no limit on the length of the session
 - only experienced and qualified persons, such as lawyers and university professors, among its ranks
10. The "Sunshine Boys" who dominated House politics from 1974 to 1981 correspond most closely to which of the following American traditions:
- muckrakers
 - machine pols
 - Wilsonian idealism
 - progressive reform
11. Alaska interest groups that want to influence the course of legislation in the House or Senate should pay attention to:
- organization of the House and Senate, including who heads which committee
 - partisan control of the House and Senate
 - the role the governor plays in dealing with informal legislative leaders
 - none of the above

___ 12. Before Alaska's oil bonanza, the budget system used by Alaska was closest to:

- a. incremental budgeting
- b. program budgeting
- c. zero-based budgeting
- d. optimal, mixed-scanning budgeting

___ 13. The chief effect of the oil bonanza on Alaska's capital projects was that it:

- a. made it possible for communities to afford whatever they wanted
- b. made the capital budget process dependent on accountants, who had to figure out what each community deserved on a per capita basis
- c. led to fragmentation of the budget procedure, so that each legislator got something for her/his district, but there was no overall state plan
- d. provided the infrastructure formerly lacking in the North

___ 14. Legislative expenditures in Alaska are connected to the public by means of:

- a. an income tax
- b. a sales tax
- c. a statewide property tax which affects all taxpayers
- d. none of the above; oil revenues pay the bill and most citizens pay nothing for state government

___ 15. Of the normal functions which legislatures play, that which indisputably applies to the Alaska legislature is:

- a. the ability to make laws to resolve important issues
- b. the ability to represent most of the state's population
- c. the ability to check the executive
- d. the ability to oversee state administration

Essay Questions

1. Outline the steps in the passage of a bill in the Alaska legislature, and point out the places in the process where opportunities are greatest for a) conflict between the two houses, and b) intervention of the executive in the process.

2. Write an essay on the state budgeting process in which you examine the thesis of Richard Fineberg (who wrote "Chaos in the Capitol"). How much of the chaos, particularly that concerning the free conference committee, is the product of factors external to the legislature and beyond its control--for example, huge revenue surpluses. How much can be attributed to internal organizational and political pressures?

3. Stand back from the Alaska legislature and ask yourself how well it represents us as individuals and our needs collectively as a state. Do you have access to the legislature and if so, is your access equal to that of organized groups? Can the legislature pull together the relevant and important interests of the state? Do the structures and the processes of the legislature permit it to articulate needs in public policy? Discuss.

INSTRUCTIONAL UNIT #11

Alaska's GovernorLearning Objectives

- Understand the nature of campaigns for governor, including organization and costs of campaigns
- Know the factors of image and candidate appeal, and the issues which figured in gubernatorial elections from 1958 to 1982
- Be familiar with the backgrounds of Alaska's chief executives
- Be able to spell out the governor's powers of appointment and removal
- Know what powers the governor has in formulation of the state budget, as compared to those of the legislature
- Understand the potential for opinion leadership by the governor
- Know what powers the governor has over state government organization
- Be familiar with the differences in activity and orientation of Alaska's five governors from 1958 to 1986
- Understand what degree of institutionalization applies to the Alaska governorship
- Be able to assess the power of Alaska's governor as compared to governors of the other states

Overview

This unit analyzes four aspects of the Alaska chief executive. The unit begins by describing campaigns for governorship, voting in gubernatorial elections, and backgrounds of Alaska's governors. Then the governor's powers--of appointment, budget, policymaking, and government organization--are discussed, followed by brief snapshots of leadership styles of the state's five governors from 1958 to 1986. The unit concludes with assessments of the comparative development of the institution of governor in Alaska.

Synopsis of "Alaska's Governor" (based on Gerald McBeath's unit, "Alaska's Governor" in text)

Electing Alaska's Governors

Alaska had seven campaigns for governorship from 1958 to 1982, and in most of these campaigns the candidates' organizations were the major forces. Gubernatorial campaigns are very costly, with the 1982 race--at \$3.7 million--having the highest cost per vote in the nation. Main sources of funding for gubernatorial candidates in recent years have been out-of-state political action committees, Alaska PACs, and individual contributions.

Voting for governors is based primarily on candidates' images and appeal (including name recognition). Issues have influenced election outcomes, as in 1982 when candidates' positions on the capital move and subsistence repeal initiative were clear, and voters were presented with a choice. Political party identification has had less influence over elections for governor.

The backgrounds of Alaska's governors have been varied. The first governor, Bill Egan, was a Valdez shopkeeper who served over a dozen years in the territorial legislature before statehood. The second governor was Wally Hickel, a developer and entrepreneur who served for only two years and became Interior Secretary in President Nixon's cabinet. Keith Miller, a small businessman, succeeded Hickel but lost the 1970 race to Egan. In 1974 Jay Hammond, a licensed guide and air taxi operator who served in the legislature during the 1960s, began his first of two terms as chief executive. Bill Sheffield, an hotelier with no previous electoral experience, entered the governor's office in 1982 and left it in 1986 after losing the Democratic primary to Steve Cowner (a Fairbanks lawyer).

Powers of Alaska's Governors

The "model" Alaska constitution gave strong powers to the governor, beginning with his power to appoint. Over 1,000 officials, including judges and members of boards and commissions, are gubernatorial appointees. But most Alaska governors have not used appointment powers to create a unified executive staff with respect to partisan or ideological factors.

The governor has extensive budgetary powers. He proposes a budget to the legislature. But in recent years, governors have not controlled budget outcomes, particularly for capital projects. An "equal-thirds" method, with participation by each house of the state legislature and the governor, limited the governor's authority. The strongest budget power of the governor is his line-item veto authority. To override the veto requires the vote of three-fourths of the legislature meeting in joint session, which is difficult to obtain.

The governor has the power to set the agenda of state issues through such mechanisms as the state-of-the-state address and submission of bills to the legislature. Most governors have attempted to lead opinion in the state, and each has had some success in popularizing issues. For example, Governor Hammond developed support for the Permanent Fund and Governor Sheffield pointed out the perils of the state's excessive reliance on an unstable oil economy.

Finally, the governor has sizable powers as head of the state bureaucracy. The executive in Alaska is unified, meaning that only the governor and lieutenant governor are statewide elected officials, with department commissioners being appointees of the governor. The governor takes the lead in organization of the bureaucracy, and may create new departments--as Governor Sheffield did in 1983 by creating the Department of Corrections.

In each use of powers, however, the governor must deal with the legislature. This interaction figured prominently in the 1985 impeachment controversy. Then-governor Sheffield had had rocky relationships with the legislature. In 1985 the governor was implicated in investigations over the state's lease of an office building in Fairbanks. A grand jury suggested that the legislature might consider impeaching the governor, and the state Senate's rules committee conducted two-weeks of hearings on the subject. The Senate declined to vote a bill of impeachment, but the proceedings eroded the governor's political base.

Styles of Gubernatorial Leadership in Alaska

From 1958 to 1986, Alaska had five different governors at the helm of state, and each brought a different pattern of activity and orientation to the office. Bill Egan was a voluble and active leader who promoted social welfare concerns. His successor Wally Hickel was a dynamic leader who championed the cause of economic development. Keith Miller was the state's least expansive governor, and he occupied the office for the shortest period of time (less than 2 years). Jay Hammond, governor from 1974 to 1982, was a popular leader who emphasized environmental values and balanced development. Bill Sheffield was more active than Hammond but had no political experience before entering the office in 1982. His wealth management philosophy pitted him against the state legislature.

Capability of the Alaska Governorship

Two examples show the way the governorship has grown as an institution since statehood. The governor's office has gotten larger, and governors have developed staff systems which give them some leverage over the state bureaucracy. And governors have developed approaches to transition from one administration to the other, including task forces and study reports.

When evaluated over the course of statehood, the governorship emerges as an independent institution but one which has not yet fulfilled the promise of the state constitution. When compared to governorships in the other state, the Alaska institution falls behind with respect to the powers of office. As in other "active" states, power struggles between governor and legislature are frequent.

Glossary

coattail effect	incremental budgeting	line-item veto
pocket veto	program budget system	public agenda
write-in campaign	friends-and-neighbors politics	

True-False Questions

1. Unlike other states, political parties play no role in races for the governorship in Alaska.
2. Alaska's gubernatorial elections are the costliest in the nation, with the per/vote cost some \$19 in 1982.
3. Most of the money for gubernatorial elections is supplied by political action committees, both in- and out-of-state.
4. The election in which issues figured most decisively was the 1986 competition between Sturgulewski and Cowper.
5. Sheffield won the governorship with 45 percent of the three-way vote in 1982, by opposing the capital move and subsistence repeal initiatives.
6. The most important factor explaining Bill Egan's first two terms as governor was his positions on the issues.
7. Jay Hammond came to office with the support of urban, Caucasian, and logging interests.
8. Most of the races for governor since statehood have been close races, with less than 5 percent separating the two candidates.

9. The reason that Alaska's governors are regarded as having strong appointment powers is that they can appoint over 10,000 officials.

10. Governors who paid close attention to partisan factors when appointing members of the state government were Bill Egan and Wally Hickel.

11. The "equal thirds" method of developing the state capital budget is a demonstration of the power of executive budgetary authority.

12. To override the executive's line-item veto, two-thirds of the legislature meeting separately must agree to restore funding cuts.

13. Alaska Governors have a poor track record at setting the legislative course of action.

14. As in other states, Alaska's governors have more success in gaining approval of their policy preferences than in popularizing issues and bringing them into debate.

15. One of the reasons that the Alaska chief executive is powerful is because of its unity--only the governor and lieutenant governor are elected in statewide elections.

16. An example of the governor's organizational powers is the creation of the Department of Transportation and Public Facilities by Jay Hammond.

17. In 1985 the Alaska State Senate considered the impeachment of Bill Sheffield, because the governor would not appoint Republicans to positions of influence in his administration.

18. An Alaska governor with a reputation for activism and dynamism in office was Wally Hickel.

19. The governor most Alaskans tend to associate closely with the Permanent Fund is Keith Miller.

20. If you were constructing an argument about the need for political experience before serving as governor, a good example to cite would be the Sheffield administration.

21. In recent years, governors have relied extensively on special assistants in dealing with the bureaucracy.

22. Recent Alaska governors have no attention to providing smooth transitions from one administration to another.

23. Alaska is like most other states in significantly increasing the powers of the governorship over time.

Multiple-Choice Questions

1. Who among the following has NOT been a governor of Alaska:
 - a. Wally Hickel
 - b. Tom Fink
 - c. Jay Hammond
 - d. Keith Miller
2. Supporters of Sheffield in the 1982 gubernatorial election were:
 - a. Anchorage residents, Natives, and fishermen
 - b. Southeast and Anchorage residents, miners, and trappers
 - c. Fairbanks, Southeast, and rural Native residents
 - d. a majority of all population groups supported Sheffield

- ___ 3. To override the governor's veto of an appropriation bill, it is necessary to have votes of:
- three-fourths of the membership of both houses sitting in joint session
 - two-thirds of the membership of both houses sitting in joint session
 - a simple majority of both houses
 - two-thirds of each house, sitting separately
- ___ 4. Which formal power have Alaska's governors used least?
- appointment and removal power
 - budgetary power
 - commander-in-chief power
 - organization power
- ___ 5. The most expensive gubernatorial election in Alaska history occurred in:
- 1970
 - 1974
 - 1978
 - 1982
- ___ 6. The least important source of campaign funding for gubernatorial elections is:
- out-of-state political action committees
 - Alaska PACs
 - the candidates' loans to the campaign
 - small (under \$10) individual contributions
- ___ 7. The reason that Bill Egan served three terms as governor of Alaska was:
- he got the party vote in each election
 - he had the best position on the issues
 - he was the best known candidate, and was regarded as very experienced
 - he didn't have any competition
- ___ 8. The best way to describe the composition of Alaska cabinets is by saying they:
- reflect the partisanship of the governor
 - include only the cronies of the governor
 - included the best managers that governors can find
 - express no consistent philosophy of management
- ___ 9. When the legislature receives the governor's budget proposal, it usually:
- enacts it without significant changes
 - makes significant changes in the budget
 - disagrees on expenditure proposals, agrees on revenue estimates
 - none of the above
- ___ 10. The only gubernatorial power that is unchecked by other branches is:
- the power to appoint
 - the power to budget
 - the power to organize government
 - the power to persuade

- ___ 11. The "unity" of the Alaska executive branch means that:
- a. all officials but the governor and lieutenant governor are appointed by the governor and responsible to him
 - b. commissioners may not challenge the governor's authority
 - c. commissioners must be of the same party as the governor
 - d. the governor personally selects each member of the bureaucracy
- ___ 12. The impeachment inquiry of 1985 resulted in all of the following EXCEPT:
- a. the removal of the governor from office
 - b. development of an executive branch ethics act
 - c. changes in state procurement policy
 - d. questions about the grand jury process
- ___ 13. The governor of Alaska most strongly identified with economic development was:
- a. Wally Hickel
 - b. Bill Egan
 - c. Jay Hammond
 - d. Bill Sheffield
- ___ 14. The governor who was most concerned with environmental values was:
- a. Wally Hickel
 - b. Bill Egan
 - c. Jay Hammond
 - d. Bill Sheffield
- ___ 15. One observation that can be made about the Alaska governorship over the course of statehood is that:
- a. it had become a powerful political machine
 - b. it has become a highly efficient bureaucracy
 - c. it has consistently been involved in power struggles with the legislature
 - d. it has been a weak office because of the way the framers of the constitution designed it

Essay Questions

1. Describe the factors which have a bearing on gubernatorial elections in Alaska. What changes have occurred over statehood in the role of political party forces? friends-and-neighbors politics?
2. Why do gubernatorial elections in Alaska cost more than in all other states? Who pays for these elections, and what impact does this have on the performance of governors in office?
3. What powers do governors have in the construction of the state's operating budget as compared to the legislature? What means have governors found to be most effective in controlling budget outcomes?

INSTRUCTIONAL UNIT #12

Alaska's Administrative SystemLearning Objectives

- Understand how the principal government departments have evolved from 1959 to the present
- Be able to describe the main elements of the state administrative system
- Know the components of the Governor's Office
- Be able to distinguish among the different kinds of boards and commissions
- Understand the main ways through which the administrative system is made accountable to the public
- Know how the legislature monitors administrative activity
- Be able to point out the way in which administrators take part in making laws
- Understand the executive and administrative roles in the budget process
- Know what is distinctive about the budget process in Alaska
- Understand important characteristics of the state workforce, including size, recruitment, unionization, and remuneration

Overview

This unit reviews and analyzes Alaska's administrative system in four parts. First, the outlines of the system are presented in an overview of the development of the state's bureaucracy, a review of the governor's office, and a description of the state's boards and commissions. Second, the primary means of administrative accountability are presented: hierarchical organization and administrative procedure, on the one hand, and legislative oversight on the other. Third, the behavior of the administration in making laws and legislative-executive relations in the budget process and cycle are explored. The unit concludes with information on the Alaska public service--size of workforce, salaries, and the concept of a career public service.

Synopsis of Alaska's Administrative System (based on Gordon Harrison's "Alaska's Administrative System," in text)

Alaska's Administrative Structure

In 1959, the first session of the Alaska legislature created the state's administrative system. Two interests--education and fish/game--succeeded in vesting control of their departments in quasi-independent boards, but most departments were established as streamlined units responsive to the governor. A unique feature was centralization in the Administration department of personnel, labor relations, purchasing, and leasing powers. In 1986 there were 15 departments (5 fewer than the constitution authorizes): administration, commerce and economic development, community and regional affairs, corrections, education, environmental conservation, fish and game, health

and social services, labor, law, military affairs, natural resources, public safety, revenue, and transportation and public facilities. Each of the departments has grown in size and complexity over statehood. This growth reflects reliance of the state upon its administrative service to solve problems, increasing federal initiatives, and increased oil revenues available to pay the bill.

The governor's office directs the state's administrative service. The first component of this office is the governor's personal staff, including staff assistants and special aides who facilitate communication between governor and agencies. The second component is the office of the lieutenant governor, which in Alaska as in several other states is responsible for overseeing the state's elections. The third component is the Office of Management and Budget (OMB). Its primary functions are to prepare the executive budget, conduct policy analysis for the governor, perform audits on state agencies, and coordinate agency plans, such as permitting.

About 120 boards and commissions round out the executive branch of government. Nearly 1,000 Alaskans serve on these bodies. Two boards direct state departments--the Board of Education is the head of that department, and the Board of Regents directs the University of Alaska system. The other boards are of three types. First are advisory boards, which are not significant politically, but which may provide information for decisions. Examples are boards on historic sites and land management issues. Second are regulatory boards, for example the Board of Fisheries, Alaska Public Utilities Commission, and Alaska Public Offices Commission. Most of the state's licensing boards fall into this category, and they are sometimes controversial because of charges that they often serve the interests of the professions they purport to regulate. Third are public corporations, such as the Permanent Fund Corporation and Alaska Power Authority, which are different from the other types in their legal independence from the state and in the role principal departments play in their governance.

Means of Administrative Accountability

Alaska's bureaucracy is made accountable to the public through administrative and political means. Administratively, the bureaucracy is organized as an hierarchy, and the units and agencies are arranged under the governor's supervision. Procedural safeguards include an Administrative Procedures Act which sets up standards of reasonableness in rule-making, the state's open meetings requirement, and the freedom of information statute.

Legislative oversight is an independent means of insuring that the state administration is accountable to the public. The appropriation process is perhaps the most effective power of legislative review. But the legislature also conducts performance audits of agencies, and it monitors agency rule-making through the Regulations Review Committee. The Ombudsman, who focuses on bureaucratic incompetence and "despotism", is an agent of the legislature. Too, the legislature provides for sunset review of boards and some agencies. A final legislative power is that of confirmation of appointees, a process through which legislators can communicate concerns about administrative performance.

Inter-branch Relations

The administration plays a significant role in the making of law. About one-sixth of the bills introduced in the average legislative session are submitted by the governor. Some of these are "housekeeping" bills for the purpose of technically amending statutes to improve program administration. Others propose significant changes of policy (and may be called technical to attract less opposition). In addition, some administrators assist legislators in drafting legislative ideas; and all commissioners and agency directors appear at legislative hearings when changes in statutes are considered.

The most important area of inter-branch relations is the budget process, for all that the administration does requires spending money. There are both legislative and executive roles in budget development. The constitution requires the preparation of an executive budget. The legislature is empowered to enact appropriations bills, which the governor may veto or reduce through striking out specific line items. The governor's veto must be overridden by a three-fourths vote of the legislature meeting in joint session. In many states, the budget process is dominated by the executive. Over recent years in Alaska, the legislature has played a very active role, which applies particularly to the membership of house and senate finance committees. In many states, the formula programs (entitlements or "uncontrollables") comprise three-fourths of the state budget, but in Alaska the Permanent Fund is the only large restricted fund, and about 60 percent of the unrestricted general fund is available for legislative appropriation.

The Alaska budget follows a fiscal year running from July 1 to June 30. About one year before the target fiscal year, the executive begins preparation of its budget plan (which must be submitted by December 15, one month before the legislature convenes). OMB guides departments in preparing expenditure estimates. Revenue estimates are far more critical to the budget process in Alaska than in other states, because 85 percent of the state's unrestricted general funds derive from taxes and royalties on petroleum. The revenue department prepares quarterly revenue forecasts, and budget work in the legislature typically does not begin in earnest until the March forecasts have been published.

Like other states, Alaska's budgeting approach is "incremental". Attention focuses on marginal increases in agency budgets instead of overall program expenses. This budgeting approach acknowledges the importance of stability to government operations and the difficulty of eliminating programs which are set firmly in statute and popular expectations.

The Alaska Public Service

In 1984 Alaska had 16,000 full-time, permanent state employees, making the state and local workforce relatively the largest in the United States. The size of the public workforce is explained partly by the low population density, which means that economies of scale are limited. The major explanation, however, is the large revenues from oil development. State workers are a significant electoral force.

Some state workers get their jobs for political reasons or because of special needs (in the exempt and partially exempt services). About four-fifths of state employees are in the classified service, which enforces the merit principle of civil service employment.

Alaska is among the states with the highest percentage of employees in authorized bargaining units (74 percent of the workforce is unionized). The Public Employees Relations Act of 1972 authorized collective bargaining for state employees, and in the mid-1980s eight unions represented workers. The state workforce is not only large, it is also well paid. The average annual earning of a full-time state employee in 1982 was \$31,272, about 80 percent higher than the national average. Employee benefits are liberal, too, making competition for state jobs active.

The state bureaucracy includes a number of career services, such as Fish and Game, Corrections, and Public Safety. In other departments, there is considerable mobility--into the private sector, from the Department of Law, for example, or from the private sector into middle and upper reaches of the departments of revenue and administration. Commissioners are usually recruited from outside the departments, and often from outside the family of partisans and loyalists who have brought a governor to power, because the pool of eligible candidates in Alaska is small.

Alaska's administrative system is modern and progressive. The structure is unified, centralized, integrated, and accountable. Changes in revenue are likely to have a significant impact on the size of the state workforce and nature of government programs, making them resemble more closely the administrations of other states.

Glossary

Administrative Procedures Act	collective bargaining	formula programs
housekeeping bills	despotism	

True-False Questions

1. The term "bureaucracy" reflects a popular image of government as an enormous and complex entity, with over-paid and under-worked employees following inflexible, irrational, and inefficient procedures.

2. The State Organization Act of 1959 consolidated all of the boards, commissioners, officers and authorities of the territorial administration into state agencies.

3. The centralization of personnel, labor relations, purchasing, and leasing procedures in the Department of Administration is an example of the progressiveness of Alaska administration.

4. In 1986 the state had 15 departments, five less than the maximum number established in the constitution.

5. A significant change in the administration since statehood has been the growth in size and complexity of departments. The number of departments has not changed greatly.

6. The Office of Management and Budget is directly responsible to the Lieutenant Governor of Alaska.

7. The largest number of boards and commissions are advisory, not policy-making or regulatory bodies.

8. The Permanent Fund Corporation is an example of a regulatory board.
9. The Alaska Public Offices Commission is an example of an advisory body.
10. The main way in which the bureaucracy is made accountable administratively is by having each department ultimately answerable to the governor.
11. The appropriations process is an ineffective place to review administrative actions.
12. In recent years, conflict has arisen between executive and legislature over review of regulations, with the legislature claiming it has the right to annul offensive regulations and the administration contending that such action is unconstitutional.
13. Sunset review has resulted in the wholesale elimination of government agencies in Alaska.
14. The confirmation process is an important method by which legislators influence the management of state agencies.
15. Many bills in any session of the legislature are "housekeeping" matters, designed to overcome problems in administration of government.
16. In Alaska, the executive dominates the budget process, and the legislature is usually very passive.
17. About 80 percent of the Alaska budget is composed of formula funds and entitlements, leaving legislators just about 20 percent to allocate.
18. Revenue forecasts are less certain in Alaska than in most states, because the state relies so heavily on petroleum taxes and royalties, and the price of oil fluctuates markedly.
19. The approach to budgeting that Alaska takes is known as "zero-based budgeting," because every year the governor and legislature start from scratch.
20. On a per-capita basis, the Alaska state and local workforce is the largest in the U.S.
21. Most of the state employees are selected through a process that is highly political. They get their jobs because of whom they know, not what they know and can do.
22. Most state workers are union members.
23. Alaska's state government employees are the best paid in the nation because living costs are so high in the state. If you control for differences in costs of living, the wages paid state workers are not high compared with those in other states.
24. The administrative system of Alaska is generally acknowledged to be well-designed and effective.

Multiple-Choice Questions

- ____ 1. Alaska state government has ____ departments:
 a. 10 b. 15 c. 20 d. 25

___ 2. All of the following explain the substantial growth in Alaska's administrative system since the legislature passed the State Organization Act of 1959, EXCEPT:

- a. the population increasingly relies on state government to solve social problems
- b. the Alaska population increased 78 percent between 1960 and 1980
- c. the federal government transferred all management responsibilities on federal lands to the state
- d. the state has assumed control of all BIA schools

___ 3. The objectives of different parts of the governor's office are to:

- a. duplicate work done by state agencies, boards, and commissions
- b. coordinate and direct the work of state agencies
- c. develop grand new proposals that would die in an agency setting
- d. put the best possible face on whatever the governor does

___ 4. The Public Utilities Commission is an example of a:

- a. public corporation
- b. advisory board
- c. regulatory board
- d. occupational licensing board

___ 5. All of the following are examples of the way in which Alaska affords its citizens access to administrative decisionmaking, EXCEPT:

- a. rulemaking provisions of the Administrative Procedures Act
- b. open meetings provisions
- c. freedom of information statute
- d. restrictions on length and readability of state statutes

--- 6. The most effective legislative oversight of administrative actions is through:

- a. the appropriations process
- b. regulations review
- c. ombudsman
- d. sunset review

___ 7. The hardest way for the legislature to enhance the accountability of a particular state agency or program is through:

- a. a legislative post-audit
- b. sunset review
- c. informal intervention
- d. confirmation hearing

___ 8. The administration influences the making of law in all the following ways EXCEPT:

- a. housekeeping bills which propose amendments to statutes
- b. alternatives or revisions to hostile proposals during the session
- c. supportive testimony at finance committee hearings
- d. appearances by the Governor at all hearings where proposals are discussed

___ 9. A chief difference between Alaska and many other states with respect to the budget process is that in Alaska:

- a. the constitution requires the preparation of an executive budget
- b. the governor has the line-item veto
- c. agencies make end-runs around the governor to the legislature
- d. the legislature is extremely active in budget review

- ___ 10. Formula programs in Alaska amount to about ___ percent of the unrestricted general fund appropriation:
 a. 20 b. 40 c. 60 d. 80
- ___ 11. The best way to describe the Alaska budgetary process is as:
 a. rational b. incremental c. intuitive d. chaotic
- ___ 12. An important implication of the large state workforce in Alaska is that:
 a. there is less support for capitalist ideas and programs
 b. the state resembles a socialist community
 c. state workers represent a significant electoral force
 d. none of the above
- ___ 13. The rate of unionization in the state work force of Alaska resembles most closely that in which grouping of states:
 a. Connecticut, Massachusetts, and New York
 b. Wyoming, Utah, and Arizona
 c. Washington, California, and Oregon
 d. Mississippi, Louisiana, and South Carolina
- ___ 14. Declines in oil revenue are likely to have what impacts on the state's administrative system:
 a. reductions in the operating budget and increases in capital spending
 b. across-the-board cuts in programs while holding the line on state worker salaries
 c. dislocations for many state workers and reduction in state-provided public services
 d. increased privatization of state-provided public services

Essay Questions

1. Compare the outlines of the Alaska administrative system with that in other states. What accounts for the relatively greater accountability of decisionmaking in Alaska?
2. Evaluate the "interest group capture" thesis as it applies to the Alaska administrative system. In what respects (if any) are Alaska agencies more easily penetrated by interest groups than the agencies of older states?
3. Analyze the Alaska administrative system in terms of its degree of "institutionalization". That is, to what extent have agencies become highly specialized? What evidences of adaptability and flexibility can one find in bureaucratic organization? How have state agencies weathered crises, such as the extreme downturn in revenue?

INSTRUCTIONAL UNIT #13

"Alaska's Courts"

Learning Objectives

- Understand the general structure of state courts in the U.S., and the common features of Alaska and other state court systems
- Know the main differences between Alaska and other state courts
- Be able to outline the structure and operations of the Alaska courts--district, superior, appeals and supreme court
- Know the provisions of the Missouri Plan under which Alaska judges are recruited to office
- Understand how the Alaska system of retention elections for judges works, and other provisions for judicial accountability
- Be able to describe important aspects of the judicial process:
 - o regulation of the courts and the bar
 - o relations of judiciary and executive
 - o relations of judiciary and legislature
- Be able to point out the distinctive rulings of the Alaska court system and assess the areas in which the court system is unique

Overview

The unit describes the Alaska court system in four areas. First, the major differences and similarities of the Alaska and other state courts are presented. Second is discussion on territorial courts and the structure of the modern courts--district, superior, appeals, and supreme court. Third, the selection procedure for judges is outlined, along with information on retention elections. Fourth, brief aspects of the judicial process are described--regulation of the court system, and relationships with the two other branches of state government. A brief note on court rulings concludes the unit.

Synopsis of "Alaska Courts" (based on unit by Andrea R.C. Helms, "Courts in Alaska," in text)

State Courts in the U.S.

Courts in the United States set the boundary between government and private action and provide a major arena in which disputes are solved. We have two sets of courts: federal courts interpret federal laws, the Constitution, and interstate matters; state courts do the rest of the nation's judicial business--about 95 percent. State courts hear both civil (private disputes) and criminal (infringement of the law) cases. All state courts have trial courts, called "original jurisdiction," where cases begin; and they have appellate courts, which handle appeals of decisions taken at lower courts.

Before the mid-1900s, state courts systems varied greatly. The inefficiencies of state courts brought on a period of judicial reform which had the effect of unifying court systems (bringing them under control of a single body). Another aspect of reform was use of the merit system to

select judges in many states. Alaska courts differ from those of other states in that the state lacks municipal (or borough) courts and courts of special jurisdiction (such as family courts). Like other states, Alaska has general trial courts of broad jurisdiction and appellate courts.

Structure and Operation of Alaska Courts

During the territorial period, justice administration was limited in Alaska. Initially, the laws of Oregon were extended to Alaska, and criminal and civil codes were not established until the turn of the century. Four judicial divisions were established by 1909, but no territorial courts were set up. The absence of local courts gave framers of the constitution a free hand in designing a unified, reform system.

The contemporary court system has four levels, administered and regulated by the highest court. The lowest level is composed of district courts and magistracies. The jurisdiction of district courts is limited to minor offenses (misdemeanors) and smaller civil cases. The 8 district court judges in 1985 handled traffic and vehicle-related cases. Fifty-four magistrates in that year did routine lower courts business in villages and small towns. Most of the cases were handled by these two courts.

Superior courts are the state's major trial court with both civil and criminal jurisdiction. The 29 judges of this court in 1985 heard cases involving domestic relations, children's proceedings, felonies, probate cases, and related civil matters. Superior courts also hear appeals from district courts. The appeals court is composed of a three-judge panel, set up by the legislature in 1980 to hear appeals from district and superior courts. Most of the appeals concern criminal or quasi-criminal matters.

The state's highest court has five judges--four associate and one chief justice. Most of the supreme court's case load consists of appeals of civil cases, from superior courts. At its discretion it hears criminal cases appealed from the Court of Appeals. The administrative director of the state court system is housed in the supreme court.

Alaska's Judges

In recruiting and reviewing judges, Alaska employs a system which combines aspects of both appointment and election, called the Missouri Plan. The state judicial council recommends names to the governor, who makes an appointment. Periodically, the judge comes before the electorate which decides whether the judge should be retained in office.

The judicial council has as members both attorneys and laymen, appointed by the governor. The council screens applications for judicial appointments, and submits two or more names to the governor. The selection process attracts comments from concerned groups, the most influential of which are bar association and law enforcement groups. Additionally, the council often conducts studies and issues suggestions for reforms and improvements in the state's justice system.

Within at least three years of selection, judges must stand for election on a nonpartisan ballot which asks voters whether they wish to

retain judges. Terms between elections vary, with supreme court justices having the longest period before review (10 years) and district courts judges the shortest (4 years). Over the statehood period to 1985, only three judges were not retained in office. One of these cases appears to have been the result of political and not judicial performance. The other two cases appear to have been based on issues of judicial performance, raised by the council.

In addition to removing judges through a popular vote, judges can be impeached by the legislature or disqualified. A Commission on Judicial Conduct is responsible for recommending disqualification.

Judicial Process

The state supreme court regulates all lower courts, and the chief justice may call judicial conferences. The supreme court along with the bar association and state legislature are in charge of lawyers practicing law in the state. The court system is connected to the other branches of government in several ways.

The executive is in charge of enforcing the law, through Public Safety and Law departments, and administering prisons through Corrections. The governor has quasi-judicial powers in provision for martial law. The close relationships on occasion have brought conflict as, for example, when the department of administration sought (unsuccessfully) to control court operating monies.

The legislature passes the laws which courts administer and also funds courts. The court system, in turn, makes recommendations for change of law to the legislature. One example of this process was the legislature's enactment of a presumptive sentencing law, which restricted the discretion judges have in imposing a sentence upon conviction.

The Alaska court is recognized as one of the most progressive in the nation. The court has a reputation particularly for interpretation and expansion of personal rights, based partly on its historic decision in 1975 to permit personal use and possession by adults of limited quantities of marijuana in their homes. The court is part of the U.S. Ninth Circuit, which is generally regarded as a liberal court with regard to personal rights issues. Another factor influencing the courts is the youth, education, and mobility of its population (which influence crime rate too).

Glossary

appellate jurisdiction	bail	civil cases
civil code	criminal cases	equity
felony	injunction	judicial review
litigant	magistrate	martial law
misdemeanor	Missouri Plan	original jurisdiction
penal code		

True-False Questions

1. State courts hear about 50 percent of the court cases in the U.S.
2. The difference between criminal and civil cases is that the former concern persons who are accused of breaking the law and the latter concern private disputes.
3. Over the last 40 years, there has been an increase in the variation of state court structure and operation in the U.S.
4. Alaska is like the other states in having both municipal courts and courts of special jurisdiction.
5. During the territorial period, courts in Alaska were all federal courts.
6. By saying Alaska's courts are unified, we mean that they are part of a single statewide system administered and regulated by the Supreme Court.
7. The courts in Alaska hearing the largest number of cases are superior courts.
8. The Alaska courts which have exclusive jurisdiction of domestic relations, children's matters, and probate are district courts.
9. The newest level of the state court system is the court of appeals, created in 1980.
10. The Alaska court of last resort is the supreme court.
11. The Missouri Plan combines elements of patronage appointment and rotary selection.
12. The council which nominates candidates for judicial positions is called the Council on Judicial Nominations.
13. The term of office for supreme court justices is longer than that for district or superior court judges.
14. Over the statehood period, about 25 judges have lost retention elections, which indicates that the initial selection system has not been very effective.
15. The body which disciplines judges is called the Commission on Judicial Conduct.
16. The law in Alaska is essentially a self-regulating profession.
17. An example of executive action which influences the operation of the judiciary is the governor's appointment of the Attorney General, commissioner of public safety and corrections.
18. An example of legislative action which influences the operation of the judiciary is the presumptive sentencing law.
19. The Alaska Supreme Court's decision in the 1975 Ravin v. State case legalized abortion.
20. Compared to other states, the Alaska court system has a reputation for conservatism and defense of the interests of the state.

Multiple-Choice Questions

1. The federal court system in the U.S. hears about ____ percent of all court cases.
- a. 5 b. 15 c. 25 d. 50

___ 2. The Alaska judiciary is different from that of other states primarily because:

- a. it is a unified court system
- b. it has a court of appeals
- c. there are retention elections for justices
- d. justices are less likely to be corrupt

___ 3. The Alaska judiciary is similar to that of other states in all of the following respects EXCEPT:

- a. it has a court of appeals
- b. it has general trial courts with broad jurisdiction
- c. it lacks municipal and county courts
- d. it has a high court that mainly reviews lower court decisions

___ 4. The characteristic of the territorial period that had the greatest impact on the design of the state judicial system was:

- a. the widespread graft and corruption which made all see the need for courts
- b. the absence of any law at all, which gave the framers a blank slate on which to write
- c. the absence of any courts other than federal ones
- d. the presence of progressive territorial courts

___ 5. If you commit murder and are apprehended, your case is most likely to be heard at a _____ court:

- a. district b. superior c. appeals d. supreme

___ 6. If you are caught driving-while-intoxicated (DWI), you will appear before a _____ court:

- a. district b. superior c. appeals d. supreme

___ 7. The main function of the Judicial Council is to:

- a. improve judicial administration in the state
- b. determine whether justices should be disqualified
- c. make nominations to fill vacancies on the state bench
- d. make up questions for the state bar exam

___ 8. In judicial retention elections in Alaska.

- a. almost all judges have been retained
- b. most judges have been retained
- c. a majority of judges have been retained
- d. few judges have been retained

___ 9. The history of judicial selection and retention over Alaska statehood is a testament to:

- a. the ability of Alaskans to tolerate judicial incompetence without revolting
- b. the effectiveness of the Missouri Plan
- c. the high quality of law-trained Alaskans working on the bench
- d. the excellent judgment of Alaska's governors in appointing judges

10. The following are all basic steps of selecting and retaining judges in Alaska EXCEPT:

- a. the public votes periodically to retain judges
- b. the governor appoints a judge from the list of nominees
- c. all nominees are sent to Missouri for interviews
- d. the Alaska Judicial Council prepares a list of nominees

11. The presumptive sentencing law is an example of:

- a. executive constraints on judicial behavior
- b. judicial limits on executive behavior
- c. judicial limits on legislative behavior
- d. legislative constraints on judicial behavior

12. Alaska courts have a reputation for progressiveness because:

- a. justices tend to be free thinkers
- b. lawyers and judges smoke pot at court
- c. courts have expanded personal rights
- d. sentences typically are shorter than in other states

Essay Questions

1. Compare the Alaska court system with federal courts in the U.S. What are the differences in structure and jurisdiction of the courts? What are the important points of similarity between state and federal courts?

2. What are the main issues that have developed in recent years concerning the efficient delivery of justice through the Alaska state court system? What changes would you recommend in the structure and operation of the system to solve these problems? Discuss.

3. How are judges made accountable to the public in the Alaska state court system? How responsive would you say the judicial system is in comparison to the state bureaucracy? Discuss.

INSTRUCTIONAL UNIT #14

"Local Government in Urban Alaska"

Learning Objectives

- Understand the major characteristics of Alaska local governments
- Be able to define "urban" Alaska and give examples of the parts of the state that are urban
- Know the economic setting of government in urban Alaska
- Be able to point out major changes in the Alaska population during the twentieth century
- Understand the kind of local government relationships that formed during the Russian period of Alaska history
- Be able to describe the kinds of local government experiments in the early American colonial period
- Be able to describe how cities, school districts, and public utility districts evolved
- Know the objectives sought by the constitutional conventions local government committee in drafting Article X of the state constitution
- Understand provisions of the state constitution on:
 - o boroughs and service areas
 - o relationships of boroughs to cities and service districts
 - o home rule
 - o state responsibilities for local affairs
- Know what obstacles there were to implementation of local government provisions in the constitution
- Understand the 1961 and 1963 legislation establishing boroughs in urban Alaska, and the role state agencies played in the process
- Be able to point out the ways borough powers have expanded since the 1960s, and reasons for the expansion
- Be familiar with areas of conflict and cooperation between boroughs and cities and school districts
- Be able to distinguish the state's unified (most highly urban) boroughs from the second-class, regional boroughs
- Understand the federal, state, and local sources of finance for Alaska's urban governments before the boom oil years of 1981-82
- Be able to point out the ways in which the state has aided local governments, including revenue sharing, municipal assistance, capital grants, school foundation program, and reimbursement for school construction debt
- Know what major changes in local government resulted from increases in state petroleum revenue; particularly, be able to point out the relationship between state aid and local tax rates
- Understand the broader effects of the distribution of state resource wealth on:
 - o local government organization and powers
 - o participation and representation in local affairs
 - o local autonomy and self-determination

Overview

This unit surveys the development of local government institutions and processes in urban areas of Alaska. It begins by pointing out the unique characteristics of urban government, and describes briefly economic, demographic, and historical factors in the evolution of local government. Then the unit reviews the background to and nature of constitutional provisions on local government. The way in which the state established boroughs is described, which sets the stage for analysis of contemporary borough government and politics in urban areas. The financing of local government is described, and attention is given to changes in local government as a result of increased petroleum revenue. The unit concludes with brief prognoses of the Alaska urban future, particularly with respect to government organization, participation, and local autonomy.

Synopsis of "Local Government in Urban Alaska" (based on chapters 1-7, pp. 1-113, of Alaska's Urban and Rural Governments, by Morehouse, McBeath, and Leask)

Setting and History of Alaska's Local Governments

Alaska is distinct from other states because of its vast territory, sparse population, extreme climate, and remoteness. Alaska's local governments are distinct too, for these reasons: they are mostly at early stages of political development; they are very open sociopolitical systems (in urban areas); they are highly dependent on the state for funding; they are politically and economically prominent in urban communities; and they are vehicles of strong interregional rivalries and conflicts.

Several factors have conditioned the growth of local government in Alaska. The economy of the state is strongly dependent on extraction of natural resources, and there has been limited secondary economic growth. The state's population has been mobile and transient, with the single exception of the Natives who comprise about 15 percent of the state's population. The population of the state has grown greatly in the twentieth century, and with immigrants have come changed expectations about local government: people want their local government in Alaska to be more like the local governments they were used to (in service provision, etc.) in their home states.

Local government structures in Alaska developed over three periods. In the first period of Russian colonialism, settlements were established in Southeast Alaska, where a pattern of hostility to the Native population and exploitation of natural resources developed. In the second period of American colonialism (1867-1900), several experimental systems of local government developed. In Sitka, residents set up provisional governments, and in mining communities settlers attempted to establish order. Neither experiment was successful. The third period, from 1900 to statehood, saw the development of cities, school, and public utility districts in the territory. Congress provided authority for civil government in legislation of 1900. Soon, larger communities (such as Juneau, Sitka, Douglas, Skagway, and Nome) incorporated, but their taxing and regulatory powers were limited. A number of different types of school systems developed--schools in incorporated towns, independent school districts

covering larger areas, federal (BIA) schools in rural areas, and private schools. The other special jurisdiction which developed before statehood was the public utility district.

Constitutional Provisions for Local Government

Article X of the state constitution covers local government, and this article follows closely the recommendations of the local government committee of the constitutional convention. The committee was strongly influenced by a report of the Public Administration Service, which called for strong, areawide local government units.

One invention of the framers was the concept of a "borough"--designed to be like a county in other states, but stronger and without the unfavorable connotations that the term county conveys. These areawide or regional units of local government would cover the state, but not all would be organized. For unorganized areas of the state, the legislature would play the role of a borough assembly. To accommodate needs of regions for special services, the framers authorized assemblies to set up service areas. The concept of the "unorganized borough" was left vague and ambiguous: it has never been clear how the unorganized borough would function.

Although some thought was given to eliminating cities, the framers left them as separate taxing jurisdictions, but required them to be part of the organized borough in which they were located. School districts, too, were required to be part of the organized borough in which they were situated, and district budgets required approval of the borough assembly. The constitution provided that the state's local governments could have "home-rule," meaning the same legislative powers available to the state legislature.

The constitution indicated that a strong boundary commission would supervise all local boundary changes, and that a state-level local affairs agency would assist local governments. But the framers assumed that the movement to the new system of local government would occur smoothly and provided for no transition to that system.

Establishing Borough Governments in Alaska

At the time of statehood there were about 40 cities and 20 special districts in Alaska. The largest cities, Anchorage (with 44,000 residents) and Fairbanks (with 13,000), were sparsely populated, and few areas had a tax base to support service needs. Initially, the state legislature occupied itself with the establishment of state agencies, and only commissioned studies and reports on implementing the new borough system.

Two years of hearings revealed interest in tax equity and integration of special districts, which influenced the Borough Act of 1961. It required that all special service districts, including independent school districts, become part of organized boroughs, and it defined standards for incorporation of boroughs. But this act provided no inducements to organization, and only one area--the Bristol Bay Borough--incorporated by the deadline of the act. Opposition to the act's provisions emerged from

school district officials who feared loss of autonomy, city residents who saw no need for a new layer of government, and residents living outside cities and school districts who wanted to pay no taxes.

The legislature then passed the Mandatory Borough Act in 1963, which required the incorporation of borough governments in eight areas of the state containing public utility and independent school districts. An incentive to incorporation was that boroughs could select 10 percent of open and unreserved lands within their boundaries. Operating under the threat of the mandatory act, residents of Ketchikan, Sitka, Juneau and Kodiak formed boroughs. Fairbanks and Anchorage residents defeated proposals to incorporate in elections. As a result, in these areas and in Kenai and in the Matanuska-Susitna Valley, boroughs were incorporated mandatorily in 1964.

These legislative actions won little immediate popular support, and efforts were made to repeal the law, call for a special session to overturn it, and invalidate it through referendum. But the supreme court upheld the law. State agencies--both boundary commission and local affairs agency--had insufficient legal, financial, or political resources to assist in the process of borough formation, which was a factor in the rocky onset of the borough experiment.

Borough Government and Politics

Boroughs were unpopular when developed in the Alaska of the 1960s, but today, in urban Alaska, boroughs are accepted by most residents. One reason for this development is that boroughs have expanded the services they provide residents. A second reason is that new residents have brought high expectations for government service to Alaska.

Local government powers have expanded in all urban areas of Alaska. Three areas--Juneau, Sitka, and Anchorage--have consolidated local government services into unified home-rule municipalities. In the other urban areas of the state, second-class boroughs have taken on new areawide powers. Thus, in addition to the mandatory borough powers of education, taxation, and planning and zoning, boroughs are engaged in such activities as transit, day care, housing finance, solid waste disposal, hospital, fire and police protection, and parks and recreation. And there has been an explosion in the number of service areas, especially for road maintenance, fire protection, and water and sewer utilities. This growth in powers and service areas has been supported by mammoth increases in state funding of local governments--from \$30 million in 1967 to \$1 billion in 1982.

Oil wealth helped ease tensions between boroughs, cities, and school districts, but some conflict remained. In the relations between cities and boroughs, residents of some borough areas have employed service areas to block their annexation by cities. Also, disagreements continued over planning and zoning decisions on lands in the boundaries of cities. The device intended to alleviate these and other conflicts--placing city council members on borough assemblies--intensified disputes and was ultimately eliminated. School districts sought increased control over school budgets, fiscal management, and school design and construction, and the amount of school district autonomy increased in most boroughs until state revenues tightened in the early 1980s.

The dynamics of borough government and politics vary depending on political geographic factors. Some Alaska boroughs center on dominant urban cores with compact and homogeneous populations having similar preferences for public services. Other boroughs cover extensive regions with dispersed settlements having different service preferences and orientations toward government. The former type of borough is found in Juneau, Sitka, and Anchorage--all unified city-boroughs. Each area has a dominant city which strongly favored unification. Smaller peripheral areas were opposed to unification, and their opposition has been somewhat reduced by creation of service areas. The latter type of borough is found in the second-class boroughs of Kodiak, Fairbanks, Kenai, and Matanuska-Susitna. Most of these boroughs cover large geographic areas, and in each there are strong forces of localism and ruralism which oppose further centralization of government services. Ketchikan and Haines, however, do not fit into either of these types. Ketchikan is mostly urban, but residents have been reluctant to unify city and borough. Haines is unique in being the state's only "third-class" or school borough.

During the twenty years of borough government development, the role of the state government has been largely reactive, with the important exception of providing money to expand local government services. The legislature created the Department of Community and Regional Affairs in 1972, but it has worked primarily with rural governments. The Local Boundary Commission has been conservative in recommending boundary changes and has approved no request for secession from an organized borough.

Local Government Finance

Alaska's oil wealth started in 1977 with the opening of the pipeline, and the increase in oil prices of 1979-81 greatly expanded revenues. Much of this new wealth was passed on to local governments, and as a result state dollars accounted for an increased part of the general operating revenues of Alaska's boroughs and cities. Falling oil prices have curtailed state aid to local governments. Much more than communities in most states, local governments in Alaska have been heavily dependent on revenue from other governments.

Before petroleum dollars flowed to the state treasury, state and local government in Alaska depended heavily on federal money. This reliance on federal money declined sharply in the 1970s. By 1980, federal dollars made up only 12 percent of state and local revenues, compared to 22 percent of such revenues nationwide. Correspondingly, state aid to local governments sharply increased, and by 1980 state sources accounted for 74 percent of combined state and local revenues, compared to 44 percent of such revenues nationwide.

The state gives three kinds of aid to local governments--for general government operating expenses, capital projects, and schools. Operating dollars come in the form of revenue sharing and municipal assistance grants. Such state aid grew from \$41 million in FY 1980 to \$150 million in FY 82, but it has declined as revenues have dropped. Capital grants were modest before Prudhoe Bay came on line, and few were granted directly to municipalities. The legislature changed this system and made direct awards, which totaled nearly one-half a billion dollars in the peak year of

1982--a massive infusion of public works money. The final category of state aid, school funding, comes mainly in the form of the school foundation program. This program bases aid on the number of students per district and covers 100 percent of the costs of rural schooling and about three-fourths of the costs in boroughs (where local contributions make up most of the remainder). Additional aid goes to school districts for pupil transportation, special and vocational education programs. And, the state provides money to municipalities to reimburse them for the debts incurred in school construction.

One major impact of the state's new oil wealth was an increase in tax bases throughout the state--from 97 percent in Haines borough to 360 percent in the North Slope Borough. A second impact was increased government employment, with the number of local government employees increasing from 8,000 in 1970 to 21,000 in 1980. A third impact was the increase in services. Fourth was a growth in the general obligation debt of municipalities. From \$149 million in 1970 total city and borough bonded debt increased to \$1.3 billion, but a large share of this increase was attributable to one municipality--the North Slope Borough. (When the state poured money into local construction projects in 1980-82, it was unnecessary for communities to bond.) Fifth, the overall general revenues of boroughs and large cities doubled between 1976 and 1981. The fastest growing revenue sources were state aid and local non-tax sources, such as interest income from investments. A sixth impact was a reduction of property taxes in all regions of the state except the North Slope Borough. A few boroughs and cities cut tax rates more than 50 percent between 1980 and 1981.

When state revenues fell off after the peak in 1982, local governments felt the effects. Money in state aid programs for schools was cut, and the legislature reduced the amount of school construction debt it was prepared to pay for. State aid for general operating expenses of municipalities declined. Communities were faced with the unpleasant prospect of reducing services or raising taxes, and they faced added future costs of operating and maintaining new public facilities.

Future of Urban Alaska

The main linkage between Alaska's petroleum resources and local government is through state government money. It is the state which has been the primary distributor of oil wealth, and the distribution has had short- and long-term consequences.

Short-term results of distribution of oil wealth have been both positive and negative. Property taxes in Alaska's urban governments are probably the lowest in the U.S., while local services have been upgraded. Several municipalities have sizable local "permanent funds". But there was a roller coaster effect, and too many capital projects were attempted simultaneously, which strained managerial resources. In general terms, one expected result did not materialize: the increase in state aid to local governments did not increase state control. The longer-term fiscal issue was what would happen when petroleum dollars declined, as happened in the mid-1980s. Competition for scarce resources increased, with an exacerbation of the rural-urban divisions of the state. Municipal officials polled in 1982 also expected that local taxes would increase.

Increased state money has not led to changes in the patterns or structures of local government. Unifications in Juneau, Sitka, and Anchorage occurred before large increases of state aid. An unintended effect of state aid has been the spread of service areas which furthers separatist and laissez-faire tendencies in Alaska local government. High levels of funding for education reduced temporarily the conflict between school boards and assemblies. Reduction in state school funding has increased bargaining between the bodies over scarce resources.

One of the significant impacts of state funding on local governments concerns the manner in which interests are represented. The small size of Alaska communities makes participation easier than in larger cities of the contiguous-48 states. But the dependence of Alaska communities on state government makes the role of local officials especially prominent. The size and influence of the "intergovernment lobby"--mayors, managers, borough assembly and city council members--has expanded commensurate with increases in state funding. The participation of the public, on the other hand, has not increased. This is partly because participation intensifies more in response to dissatisfaction with officeholders and their policies than in response to surplus wealth. Also, decisionmaking on the spending of Alaska's oil wealth at the local level was highly organized and "official," and there was limited public participation. State money has stimulated increased organized activity of local government bureaucrats and their agencies--the Alaska Municipal League, conferences of mayors, and municipal lobbyists.

Alaska local governments have made important gains in autonomy. The state has not exercised increased control over local governments. Instead, it supplied increased revenues which allowed local areas to expand services while enhancing self-determination. Although all local governments became more dependent on the state for funding, which was a centralizing force, it was also the case that local perspectives and concerns influenced how the money was spent at the local level--a decentralizing force.

Glossary

miners' law	public sector politics	service area
municipal assistance	revenue sharing	unification
school foundation program	Local Boundary Commission	DCRA
Mandatory Borough Act	public utility district	home rule
Third Class Borough	intergovernmental lobby	CIP

True-False Questions

1. Alaska's local governments are mostly at late stages of organizational and political development.
2. In urban communities such as Fairbanks and Anchorage, local governments play very prominent political and economic roles.
3. Urban-rural competition and conflict are less important in modern Alaska today than at any time in the past.
4. From 75 to 85 percent of Alaska's population could be defined as urban and the remainder rural.
5. A central characteristic of the Alaska economy is that external demand for resources determines the economic health of Alaska.

6. In general terms, Alaskans are less mobile than residents of other states.

7. Between 1900 and 1980, the Alaska population increased by more than 20 times.

8. The Russian-American Company was responsible for government as well as trading in its areas of control in Alaska.

9. Local government of the early American colonial period in Alaska was mostly self-government.

10. Miners' law was such an effective form of local government that Congress expanded it beyond mining disputes, and it became a form of general government responsible for raising taxes and establishing schools.

11. Most strongly opposed to extension of local government in Alaska were the salmon-canning industry and large business interests.

12. What made early school districts in Alaska "independent" was their ability to levy taxes in the unincorporated areas outside cities and to exercise local control over matters pertaining to school programs.

13. The "borough" concept was copied from the rotten boroughs found in 16th and 17th century England.

14. The local government committee of the constitutional convention developed the concept of service areas to deal with special needs and demands for services in parts of organized areas.

15. Framers of the constitution had no clear idea as to how cities and boroughs would work together.

16. Home rule provisions of the local government article were designed to give boroughs powers greater than the state legislature had.

17. The local government article was contradictory when it established one local government system and then recognized both cities and boroughs, preserved school districts, and added service districts.

18. At the time of statehood, Alaska had about 100 cities and 40 special districts.

19. The areas of the state incorporated as a result of the Borough Act of 1961 were the most urban areas of Alaska.

20. The areas of the state which were forced to incorporate as boroughs were Fairbanks, Anchorage, Kenai, and Mat-Su.

21. The reason that the local affairs and boundary agencies were unable to bring about borough formation easily was because they lacked political support and effective strategies.

22. Most of the current residents of Alaska were not in the state during the borough formation conflicts.

23. Over the period of statehood, there has been little expansion in the scope and powers of borough government.

24. Service areas have increased only in the unified city-boroughs and not in the second class boroughs of Alaska.

25. The basic difference of first and second class boroughs are the restrictions on the latter regarding the acquisition of additional power beyond the basic mandatory powers of planning and zoning, taxation, and education.

26. The distribution of oil wealth has had no effect on the level of conflict between boroughs, cities, and school districts.

27. The differences between urban (unified) and regional (second-class) boroughs are primarily those of political geography.

28. Today, the three areas of the state with unified city-boroughs are Fairbanks, Kenai, and Mat-Su.

29. Interests most strongly in favor of political unification in boroughs are those of the dominant city.
30. State agencies mostly have left their hands off local government organizational matters in Alaska's cities.
31. Until petroleum dollars filled Alaska's coffers, state and local governments relied most heavily on local sources.
32. The main state programs helping local governments pay for public services are shared taxes.
33. After 1980, a major state program in local areas was capital grants to municipalities.
34. The central source of operating money for all Alaska school districts is the school foundation program.
35. State money had no significant impact on local tax bases in Alaska.
36. With the exception of Fairbanks and Anchorage, the bonded indebtedness of Alaska's local governments declined during the oil boom years.
37. During the oil boom years, the burden of financing Alaska's borough and city governments fell more on state government than on local taxpayers.
38. In the early 1980s, local property tax rates increased.
39. The decline in state revenues has revived conflict between urban and rural areas over state payment of school construction and operating costs.
40. Alaska's governments are unique in being strongly influenced by intergovernmental transfers.
41. There is no evidence in Alaska local government that "control follows the dollar".
42. The state's aid policy has had the effect of increasing pressures for unification of local governments.
43. In Alaska's local governments, public officials are no more likely to participate and wield influence than the average "Joe Six-pack".
44. Public participation in local government tends to increase and intensify when people are satisfied with officeholders and their policies.
45. State money and policies have stimulated increased organized activity on the part of the "intergovernmental lobby".
46. In the 1980s, generally, centralizing forces have been much more important than decentralizing forces in state-local relations.

Multiple-Choice Questions

1. Which of the following is not a very distinctive characteristic of Alaska's local governments:
 - a. they are mostly at early stages of organizational and political development
 - b. they are highly dependent on other levels of government for funds or services or regulation
 - c. they play prominent political and economic roles in all rural communities
 - d. they are vehicles of strong interregional rivalries and conflicts

2. A significant difference between local governments of rural Alaska as compared to those in urban areas is that the latter are:
- numerous and complex
 - numerous but simple
 - few in number but complex
 - few in number and relatively simple
3. Alaska's population in the 1980s is, as previously:
- subject to sudden changes in response to basic economic changes
 - composed primarily of individuals who have lived in the state all their lives
 - concentrated in Southeast and Interior Alaska
 - comprised largely of single men, lured to Alaska by adventure and high wages
4. Before 1900, local government in Alaska was:
- well-developed in all the Native communities of the territory
 - well-developed in all areas that had been settled by Russians
 - well-developed in all the mining communities
 - under-developed in all regions of the territory
5. Before statehood in 1959, special district governments included:
- townships, sewer districts, and school districts
 - boroughs, export processing zones, and penal communities
 - school and public utility districts
 - none of the above
6. The record of local government committee deliberations at the Constitutional Convention reveals that:
- there was no clear idea what the borough would be and do
 - there was little sentiment for allowing local areas to decide how much they should govern themselves
 - "boroughs" were selected because they were a model of strong local self-government in England
 - framers feared future state interference in local government so they created borough boundaries that could not be altered
7. The local government committee addressed city-borough relations by:
- attempting to abolish cities
 - devising a plan for city-borough unification
 - requiring cities to be part of boroughs without stating what this meant
 - specifying in detail the distinct roles of cities and boroughs
8. A unique aspect of the Alaska Constitution's local government article is that it:
- leaves the state no authority in local affairs
 - establishes one local government system
 - removes all taxing powers from cities
 - specifies in detail classes and powers of cities and boroughs, and provides for resolution of conflicts between them

9. Opposition to borough formation in the early 1960s came from all the following EXCEPT:
- school district officials fearing loss of autonomy
 - city residents seeing no need for a new layer of government
 - residents of the Bristol Bay area wanting to tax canneries
 - those living outside cities and school districts who didn't want to pay taxes
10. Most of the boroughs in Alaska today were formed as a result of:
- the Borough Act of 1961
 - the Mandatory Borough Act of 1963
 - the Third Class Borough Act of 1972
 - the Borough Unification Act of 1976
11. Evidence of the expansion in borough government is found in:
- a sharp increase in boroughs reclassifying from 2nd to 1st class
 - strong unification movements in all boroughs
 - proliferation of service areas in most boroughs
 - nowhere in Alaska; boroughs are today as they were in 1963--weak forms of local government
12. Typical service areas found in many boroughs are:
- safety, recreation, and emergency medical services
 - cemetery, flood control, and housing finance services
 - road maintenance, fire protection and water/sewer services
 - day care, parking, and library services
13. In the last twenty years, relationships of cities, boroughs, and school districts have improved as a result of:
- development of a clear division of labor among local government units
 - distribution of state oil wealth
 - state leadership in reducing tension
 - popular education in the virtues of the cooperative ethic
14. The chief difference between urban and regional boroughs is that urban boroughs have:
- a higher proportion of new residents
 - a longer tradition of independent city government
 - more political liberals
 - more compact and homogeneous populations with similar attitudes toward local government
15. The borough in Haines is an example of:
- a unified city-borough
 - a second-class borough
 - an anomaly--a "third class" (school) borough
 - the best form of local government devised by woman or man

16. Between fiscal years 1976 and 1983, the major change in the funding of Alaska local government was:

- a. a large increase in the proportion of state aid going to schools
- b. federal aid supplied an increasing part of local budgets
- c. a huge increase in the amount of state aid to local governments, both for operating and capital expenses
- d. an increase in local tax contributions to cities and boroughs

17. The largest dollar amount of state aid going to Alaska's local governments is in the form of:

- a. revenue sharing
- b. municipal assistance
- c. school foundation program
- d. school construction debt reimbursement

18. From 1970 to 1980, the rate of growth in local government employment:

- a. exceeded that of federal but not state government employment
- b. exceeded that of both federal and state government employment
- c. exceeded that of state but not federal government employment
- d. exceeded that of neither state nor federal government employment

19. During the oil boom years, the bonded indebtedness of Alaska's municipalities:

- a. increased modestly in all areas except the North Slope
- b. increased greatly in all areas
- c. declined in all areas except the North Slope
- d. declined in all areas of the state

20. During the oil boom years, local property tax rates in Alaska:

- a. increased 50 percent
- b. increased 25 percent
- c. stayed the same
- d. declined

21. Early responses of the state legislature to reductions in state oil revenues were:

- a. major reductions in the number of state employees
- b. attempts to reduce state aid programs for schools and municipalities
- c. increases in statewide taxes or income and sales
- d. increases in the oil severance tax

22. The relationship between state funds given to local government and state control in Alaska is:

- a. direct--the more aid, the more control
- b. inverse--the more aid, the less control
- c. mixed--in some areas direct, in others inverse
- d. there is no relationship

23. The effect that changes in state revenues has on unification of local government is:

- a. direct; as revenues increase, separatist tendencies decrease
- b. direct; as revenues increase, unification pressures increase
- c. indirect; reduction in state aid has a broad range of constraining effects on local governments
- d. impossible to say over a short period of time

24. Participation in local governments and politics in Alaska has:
- increased greatly since statehood
 - remained about the same
 - not changed for the "masses," but has increased for officials
 - declined at both mass and elite levels
25. Political representation and accountability reflect "small town" elements:
- in every community in the state
 - in every community except Anchorage
 - in rural communities, but not in urban areas
 - nowhere in Alaska

Essay Questions

- What are the main factors of the Alaska environment which have conditioned the establishment of local government? Are these environmental factors primarily uniform throughout the state or evident in some areas or population settlements more than in others? Discuss.
- If the first Caucasian settlers in Alaska had been British and not Russians, what impact (if any) would this have had on the development of local government institutions?
- What accounts for the idealistic quality of the local government article of the Alaska Constitution? How would the development of local government likely have proceeded if the framers simply had written into constitutional language the pattern of government present in Alaska of the mid-1950s?
- Describe the way in which borough government was implemented in Alaska in the early 1960s. What explains the resistance to borough incorporation in most of Alaska's cities?
- What accounts for the apparent success of city-borough unification in Anchorage, and the failure of unification movements (at least up to 1988) in Fairbanks?
- Analyze the cycle of local government responses to state petroleum revenue declines. What were the first responses? Reactions on the part of state and local leaders in most parts of the state? Reactions of the Alaska "mass public" to revenue declines?

INSTRUCTIONAL UNIT #15

"Local Governments in Rural Alaska"

Learning Objectives

- Understand what "rural" means in the Alaska context
- Be able to point out differences between Alaska's urban and rural populations
- Know how Native communities were organized before contact, and what changes occurred during the first phases of Western rule
- Know what services were available in most rural communities at the time of statehood, and who paid for them
- Understand what pressures reached rural areas in the 1960s from the state and from national social forces
- Be able to show how the land claims movement developed, and what provisions of the settlement act (ANCSA) were
- Understand how a borough came to be developed on the North Slope
- Understand the differences and similarities between Alaska's largest borough and other municipal governments
- Be familiar with the way the North Slope Borough has addressed welfare, security, and participation needs of residents
- Know what problems and successes flow from the application of borough government concept in a Native context, such as the North Slope
- Know the structure and functions of local governments in rural Alaska, both state-chartered (1st- and 2nd-class cities) and federally recognized (IRA and traditional councils)
- Understand the way in which business corporations (ANCSA village and regional corporations) and nonprofit organizations operate as "quasi-governments" by providing service and representation
- Be able to identify the way educational and planning services are delivered in the unorganized borough through service areas (the REAAs and CRSAs)
- Understand how intergovernmental relations are managed in rural communities which are not part of a borough
- Understand what expectations rural people have local government
- Know what the interest of the state is in rural local government
- Be able to point out the major constraints on state policymaking regarding formation of borough governments in rural areas
- Be able to evaluate the failed and successful movements to form regional governments in rural Alaska
- Understand the process of "institutionalization" as it affects Alaska's local governments, urban and rural
- Be able to point out the overall forces of centralization and decentralization in the evolution of local government

Overview

This instructional unit continues the description and analysis of local government by focusing on rural Alaska. The first section examines the setting of rural governments and development of local government services and institutions. Second, information on the structure and

function of the state's largest local government in land area--the North Slope Borough--is presented. Most of the state's rural areas lie within the "unorganized" borough, and the forms of government there--cities, IRA governments, traditional Native councils, ANCSA corporations, nonprofits, and REAAs--are described in some detail in the third section.

Then, the "problems" in the existing condition of rural government are discussed, from the point of view of rural residents, urban residents, and the interests of the state. The unit concludes with summary remarks on the pattern of local government development in Alaska--emphasizing forces of both centralization and decentralization and the dependence of political developments on distribution of state wealth.

Synopsis of "Local Government in Rural Alaska" (based on chapters 8-12, pp. 117-239, of Alaska's Urban and Rural Governments, by Morehouse, McBeath and Leask)

Setting of Rural Alaska Government

"Rural" Alaska consists of the unorganized borough, rural boroughs such as the North Slope Borough, plus outlying parts of areawide boroughs, whose residents do not think of themselves as urban. It is sparsely populated, isolated, and ethnically homogeneous. Weather, climate, and other geographic conditions do not encourage settlement. Economic resources are unevenly distributed and poorly developed, and there is no tax base in most rural areas. Thus rural residents, as compared to urban dwellers, are poorer, more dependent on government transfer payments, less well-educated, less well provided with medical services, and more exposed to the maladies of social life such as alcoholism.

We know little about the government of aboriginal communities in Alaska before contact with Caucasians. There were leadership institutions in most communities. They emphasized skill in managing resources, foundation of power in family lineage systems, and the role of consensus in legitimating authority. Western traders, missionaries, and teachers changed local government norms and structures. They discredited the practices Natives traditionally had used. And they established new institutions--especially the local school--which forced Natives to leave their traditional moorings.

When Alaska became a state in 1959, most rural areas were not strongly organized for the delivery of government services. Framers of the constitution left rural areas in the "unorganized" borough, and conditions remained as they had been. But actions of new state agencies began to affect rural populations, and currents of change in U.S. national politics, such as the War on Poverty, made an impact on rural leaders. Pressures on Native lands brought about a Native land claims movement and the formation of regional lands claims associations, activity which led to the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act of 1971 (ANCSA). This act was the single most important stimulus to organization of government and quasi-governments in rural Alaska.

The North Slope Borough

In 1988-89 there are four organized, areawide governments in rural Alaska--the Bristol Bay Borough, North Slope Borough (NSB), the newly-formed Northwest Arctic Borough, and the Aleutians East Borough. The lesson of the NSB, noteworthy because its per capita tax base is probably the highest in the world, points out the limits of the borough government form in rural Alaska.

Social and economic conditions of the North Slope were like those of other areas in rural Alaska, and local leaders believed state and federal governments neglected the area's problems. When oil was discovered at Prudhoe Bay in 1968, leaders sought to gain direct benefits from petroleum development. Their land claims association was one of the strongest in the state, and when ANCSA was enacted leaders campaigned for self-government. They met opposition from oil companies and the state of Alaska, but prevailed when the borough was incorporated in July 1972.

Today the North Slope Borough is more centralized than most boroughs in the state, and its eight villages have little autonomous authority. Initially, the mayor's authority overwhelmed the borough assembly, but some balance has developed in mayor-assembly relations in recent years. The borough has transformed the social landscape of the North Slope. A capital improvements project (CIP), funded with over \$1 billion in bond dollars, has built new schools, housing units, roads, and other public facilities in each village. The borough has funded employment opportunities for most Native residents, and created modern services which have brought living conditions closer to urban standards. The costs have been very high--a per capita government cost of \$45,000 in 1982, and debt service expenses which eat up increasingly larger slices of the borough budget.

Development of a strong local government has increased protection for residents' subsistence pursuits. Through its planning and zoning powers, the borough has monitored Prudhoe Bay and outer-continental shelf (OCS) development activity. On its own authority the borough has championed the cause of Natives who seek to harvest caribou and whales. The borough has brought about a consumer orientation to government services.

Development of this strong institution of local government has not occurred without difficulty. As borough government developed, strains emerged in relations with the school district, Native regional corporation, and regional Native government. Relations with state agencies initially were frosty, and the borough has had to go to court repeatedly to establish its financial authority. Finally, as borough government has grown, villagers have complained about their lack of power; and the borough's wealth has attracted Caucasians whose residence crowds Inupiat values.

Forms of Rural Government

Altogether, nine different types of government, quasi-government, and service district form the complex, fragmented system of local government in rural Alaska. A small number of rural places have first-class city governments, chartered under state law. First-class cities incorporate city school districts and have planning powers, but they have insufficient finances, staff, and control over land to address rural city problems.

Second-class cities are much more numerous, but they have even fewer powers and lack any control over education. Problems of first-class cities are exaggerated in second-class communities.

IRA governments are federally-chartered under terms of the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934. Alaska's 70 IRA governments give rural places opportunities to set up their own courts, tax members, and regulate behavior. Some monies supported IRA council activity under terms of the Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act, but in the 1980s these funds declined. The State of Alaska has refused to recognize tribal governments as legitimate authorities to receive state funds and administer state programs, which limits their activity. Traditional Native governments have less funding and power than IRA councils, but share with IRAs the support of Alaska's rural Native population.

In addition to these governments chartered and recognized by state or federal government, rural Alaska has socio-economic agencies which deliver government services and provide representation--"quasi-governments". Most numerous are ANCSA village corporations, which frequently are the strongest social force in rural places and which, as land owners, have an interest in limiting local tax power and land-use controls. ANCSA regional corporations have less direct impact because most of their investment activity is outside rural Alaska, but their development plans affect economic conditions in villages. Nonprofit branches of regional ANCSA corporations are like rudimentary borough governments in providing services on an areawide basis. Nonprofits receive money from federal and state sources to administer a variety of programs, but their funding has been uncertain. Also, nonprofits have strictly Native constituencies and this limits their ability to represent all residents of rural areas.

The legislature, acting as the "assembly of the unorganized borough" has established two types of service areas throughout rural Alaska. The most important are Regional Education Attendance Areas (REAA), 21 of which were set up in 1976 to deliver educational services. REAA districts are like borough school districts in that they are governed by an elected school board which retains a superintendent and staff to formulate and implement educational services. REAAs are unlike borough districts in that they lack taxing powers and are monitored by the state legislature. The effect of the REAAs has been to reduce incentives of rural people to organize borough government, for schools cost rural areas nothing. The second type of service area is the Coastal Resource Service Area (CRSA), which gives local areas opportunity to participate in regulation of resource development if and when it occurs.

Future of Rural Government

Over the period of statehood, a complex system of local government has developed in rural Alaska, a system which in some ways resembles the fragmentation of authority and proliferation of jurisdictions one sees in the contiguous-48 states. Examination of individual Alaska rural communities, however, shows that the local government system "works". Although there is competition among governments, there is also accommodation and division of labor.

Rural residents want their local institutions to promote economic development, expand delivery of services, and protect local values in land and culture. But there is no groundswell of support for strong, areawide borough governments in rural Alaska. It is at the state level, in the legislature and administrative agencies, that support for changes in rural local government has arisen. The legislature periodically wants to "do something" about the unorganized borough, often calling for "organizing the unorganized borough"--to improve services while making local units more accountable and the distribution of burdens and benefits of government more equitable. The executive is concerned that "essential" services are delivered to all rural areas in the most cost effective manner, and that local units are fully accountable to the state. However, the state has not composed a consistent rural government policy, because of limitations in tax bases and revenue, political support, and constitutional authority.

A number of attempts have been made to develop areawide governments in rural Alaska, but since the formation of the North Slope Borough in 1972 only two have succeeded. In 1986, leaders of the NANA region formed a borough along the boundary lines of the regional ANCSA corporation and REAA district. The incentive to borough formation was the ability to control resource development in the region--the Red Dog mine--which provided a tax base. The second areawide government is the Aleutians East Borough, being formed in 1988, which would take advantage of fisheries resources in that region.

Conclusions

Since statehood, two separate systems of local government seem to have emerged in Alaska--one for urban areas and another for rural areas. A small number of relatively unified local governments have formed in urban Alaska. In rural Alaska, governments, quasi-governments, and service areas have proliferated.

The urban boroughs and unified municipalities have undergone a process of "institutionalization", becoming valued and effective local institutions. They have expanded services and, with strong lobbies, been successful in winning state support. Only the North Slope Borough in rural Alaska has undergone this process. In most rural regions, no areawide borough governments with concentrated leadership and powers have developed. These regions lack tax bases, and their existing governments and quasi-governments have provided services, representation, and some influence; but the future effectiveness of this local governmental system is not guaranteed.

Centralizing and decentralizing forces are at work in Alaska's local government system. Both urban and rural governments have experienced increases of autonomy and capability, largely because of increases in the state's oil wealth. Declines in state revenues in the mid-1980s have increased competition and aggravated old conflicts, particularly that between urban and rural areas.

An additional factor in local government development is the increasing differentiation of Anchorage as a city and force standing apart from the rest of the state. In local government terms, the unified city-borough

fulfills the dream of framers of the state constitution. With nearly half of the state's population, and serving as Alaska's commercial, financial, and service center, local government developments in Anchorage dwarf in type and nature those elsewhere in the state. They occupy a different setting from the dispersion of government forms in rural Alaska. Many Alaskan residents outside of Anchorage are wary of Alaska becoming a "one-city state," with all of the implications for reduced diversity and increased concentration of power in the future.

Glossary

"rural"	shaman	BIA
Eben Hobson	OCS	IRA Council
traditional council	ANCSA corporation	quasi-government
REAA	council-manager form	CRSA
second-class city	nonprofit corporation	tribal government

True-False Questions

1. Following the definition of "rural" by the U.S. census bureau, 36 percent of Alaska's population in 1980, including residents of Cordova, Wrangell, and Petersburg, was rural.

2. In rural Alaska, natural resources are evenly distributed and well developed.

3. Rural residents are poorer and more dependent on government transfer payments than urban residents.

4. Rural residents have better access to education, medical, and dental services than urban residents.

5. In both Eskimo and Indian bands, there was an hereditary office of chief which had sufficient authority to determine the course of action to be followed by the community.

6. The "dual" system of schooling in territorial Alaska meant that all students were educated through grade 8, and those passing the entrance examination were permitted to enter one of four high schools paid for by the federal government.

7. During the first decade and a half of statehood, the concept of the unorganized borough didn't mean anything of significance.

8. Native land claims associations formed in reaction to state pressure on lands customarily used by Natives.

9. An important effect of ANCSA was to reduce the need for rural government services by giving thousands of dollars to individuals.

10. Oil companies and the state of Alaska helped North Slope residents form an areawide borough, because they believed strong local government would improve conditions for development of petroleum.

11. The first mayor of the North Slope Borough was Charlie Edwardsen.

12. The structure of the North Slope Borough bears little resemblance to urban governments in Alaska.

13. The NSB's capital improvement projects are vaster in scale and cost than those of any other local government in Alaska.

14. From the point of view of North Slope residents, the chief danger to OCS development is that oil spills will endanger the habitat of species such as bowhead whales on which many Inupiat depend.

15. The formation of the North Slope Borough has dramatically increased the percentage of residents who vote in local elections.

16. The main financial issue presented by the North Slope Borough is the treatment for tax purposes of Prudhoe Bay: which jurisdiction, the local government or the state, should get the primary tax benefits?

17. Unlike other regions with major economic development projects, the North Slope Borough has been able to limit the inflow of outsiders.

18. The only source of authority for first- and second-class cities in Alaska is the federal constitution.

19. First-class cities in the unorganized borough have city school districts, but second-class cities have no control over schools.

20. Increasingly, state funds have overtaken local and federal sources of revenue for first-class cities.

21. Land problems pit the interests of rural cities against those of ANCSA corporations.

22. The taxing, planning, and zoning powers of second-class cities are identical to those of first-class cities.

23. In the early 1980s, the non-Native population of rural cities declined, and Natives had more influence than non-Natives on city councils.

24. The authority of IRA councils derives from the inherent sovereignty of Indian tribes as governments of the aboriginal peoples of North America.

25. The biggest problem that IRA governments face is that the BIA is directly involved in approving each council expenditure.

26. The position of the state of Alaska has been that IRA and traditional councils are not legitimate governments.

27. Medium-sized ANCSA village corporations are active in maintaining and attempting to expand village economies.

28. The main reason that ANCSA regional corporations are irrelevant in the development of village government capability is because few of the corporate investments are in rural Alaska.

29. The organization which most closely resembles a borough government in the unorganized borough today is the nonprofit Native association.

30. The major part of nonprofit association funding comes from ANCSA regional corporations.

31. The REAAs were designed with the standards for borough incorporation in mind.

32. Decentralization of education in rural Alaska has probably increased the prospects for forming borough governments, because rural people now want more control over schools and they want to be able to raise a local contribution for education.

33. The local government system of rural Alaska increasingly resembles that of local governments in the contiguous-48 states.

34. The city of Nome is a good example of a place lacking sufficient powers and institutions to provide for self-government.

35. Case studies of rural government show that the proliferation of governments and quasi-governments is a serious problem because each unit operates in isolation from others.

36. Municipal officials report that community attitudes are either ambivalent or opposed to governments playing a strong role in community economic development.

37. To many Native Alaskans, protection of Native cultural values requires that Native governments be able to keep some control over activities and practices of value to Natives.

38. Both the legislature and state agencies have been concerned with improving the accountability of local government units in rural Alaska.

39. The state of Alaska has not made clear and direct policy recommendations on rural Alaska government, because recommendations would carry costs and the state's own revenue future is uncertain.

40. A main supporter of borough formation movements typically is the relevant ANCSA regional corporation, which sees areawide government as likely to improve its power.

41. The trend in Alaska of increasing powers at both the state and local levels resembles that seen in the contiguous-48 states.

42. In Alaska, one sees "institutionalization" of local governments as often in rural as in urban areas.

43. The increase of state funding has had different effects on urban than on rural governments. State funds have increased the general government capacity of borough governments; they have increased the number of rural organizations without improving capacity.

44. Local government reformers generally would be pleased to see how government has evolved in Anchorage and disappointed to see its evolution in rural-village Alaska.

Multiple-Choice Questions

___ 1. A factor of importance to the definition of "rural" in most states which is unimportant in Alaska is:

- a. sparseness of population
- b. isolation from the state's largest cities
- c. percentage of population involved in agriculture
- d. homogeneity of population

___ 2. At the time of contact between Natives and Caucasians, with few exceptions aboriginal communities:

- a. lacked anything resembling governments
- b. lacked visible authoritative centers that could mediate change
- c. had formally structured communities which resisted conquest
- d. none of the above

___ 3. The dual system of rural education in territorial Alaska meant that:

- a. each community had two schools, one for Natives and one for Caucasians
- b. private schools competed with public schools in many places
- c. there was a territorial and a federal (BIA) system of schools,
- d. there were separate elementary and secondary schools in each village

___ 4. ANCSA was primarily the result of:

- a. a political movement seeking resolution of Native land claims
- b. a socioeconomic movement seeking to protect Native subsistence lifestyles
- c. a legal campaign to establish self-government for rural Alaskans
- d. a traditional movement seeking to restore shamans and Native religions

5. The most important aspect of ANCSA, for the purpose of government in Alaska, was:

- a. the cash settlement
- b. the size of the land settlement
- c. the creation of economic corporations in villages and regions
- d. the creation of a new Native elite

6. The central fact of the North Slope Borough is that it:

- a. would not exist in its present form without oil money
- b. is a Native government
- c. has one of the largest tax bases in the world, on a per capita basis
- d. is a highly institutionalized borough government

7. The main reason for the formation of the North Slope Borough was to:

- a. develop high schools on the North Slope
- b. gain benefits from oil and gas development for North Slope Natives
- c. regulate the pace of oil and gas development at Prudhoe Bay
- d. protect caribou and whales from ecosystem change

8. Structurally, the North Slope Borough is different from other regional boroughs in Alaska, because:

- a. it has comprehensive planning and zoning powers
- b. it is more centralized and under strong mayoral control
- c. it is decentralized with strong village government powers
- d. the school district is completely integrated in the borough

9. The only major power of the North Slope Borough which the state of Alaska has not challenged is:

- a. its power to assess and collect taxes on property
- b. its power to establish and operate schools
- c. its power to regulate fish and game within the region
- d. its power to provide comprehensive planning and zoning

10. The chief difference between first- and second-class cities of rural areas is that:

- a. second-class cities have no control over education
- b. second-class cities tend to have council-manager forms of government
- c. first-class cities have greater controls over land
- d. first-class cities have more money

11. The major area in which traditional Native governments are inferior to IRA councils is:

- a. their authority under state law and regulations
- b. their ability to gain federal program funds
- c. their range of service activities
- d. their authority under federal law and regulations

- ___ 12. Quasi-governments are not fully governmental because they cannot:
- legislate independently
 - represent people
 - deliver public services
 - pressure governments
- ___ 13. The main effect that ANCSA village corporations have on rural local government is:
- radical--they force governments to challenge the rural power structure
 - liberal--they help expand benefits of government to all
 - moderate--they reinforce both good and bad tendencies of rural governments
 - conservative--they limit the power of local governments
- ___ 14. ANCSA regional corporations which have the best record of investing in rural Alaska regions are:
- Calista, Bristol Bay, and the Aleut Corporation
 - Bering Straits, Chugach, and Doyon
 - Calista, Chugach, and Sealaska
 - NANA, Ahtna, and ASRC
- ___ 15. Native nonprofit associations are the lineal descendants of:
- ANCSA regional corporations
 - borough governments
 - nonprofit health corporations
 - land claims associations of the 1960s
- ___ 16. The chief difference between REAAs and "school boroughs" is that REAAs may not:
- hire and fire school superintendents
 - design and construct new school buildings
 - assess and collect taxes
 - plan and operate school programs
- ___ 17. In general, rural Alaskans' attitudes toward formation of strong borough governments are best described as:
- strongly supportive
 - lukewarm
 - ambivalent
 - confused
- ___ 18. The strongest form of government outside of urban areas is the:
- REAA
 - Coastal Zone management area
 - first-class city
 - IRA council
- ___ 19. The most recent regional government formed in Alaska was:
- the Bristol Bay Borough
 - the North Slope Borough
 - the Northwest Arctic Borough
 - the Deltana borough

20. After 30 years of statehood, the major trend observable in Alaska local government is:

- a. increasing powers, resources, and responsibilities
- b. increased state powers at the expense of local government
- c. increased urban government capabilities and diffusion of rural government powers
- d. no change in state-level capability or autonomy, but significant advances in local government powers and resources

Essay Questions

1. Alaska has two systems of local government--an urban, unified type and a rural, diffused type. Discuss the prospects for these two types becoming more alike, particularly under conditions of resource scarcity.

2. Briefly describe the factors that make rural Alaska unique, and analyze the impact of these factors on the local government system that has developed there.

3. Analyze the major impact that ANCSA has had on the organization and functioning of rural local government in Alaska. What change if any seems likely to occur in the role of ANCSA corporations under terms of the 1991 amendments? Discuss.

4. Evaluate the experience of the North Slope Borough as a model for government in rural Alaska regions. What are the advantages and disadvantages for other regions of this type of borough government?

5. Discuss the pros and cons of transforming the REAAs into school boroughs with education and very limited taxation and planning powers. What constellation of forces would likely support such a change? Oppose it?

6. In Alaska's 30 years of statehood, have local government issues moved up or down the state's political agenda? What accounts for the movement that has taken place (if any)?

7. What does "state-chartered" and "tribal" forms of local government in rural Alaska? Why doesn't the state recognize tribal governments? Why do many Natives want them?

ANSWERS TO TRUE-FALSE QUESTIONS

Unit 1

1. T	2. F	3. F	4. T	5. F	6. T	7. T	8. T
9. F	10. T	11. F	12. F	13. T	14. T	15. T	16. F
17. T	18. T	19. T	20. F	21. F	22. T	23. F	

Unit 2

1. T	2. F	3. F	4. F	5. F	6. F	7. T	8. T
9. F	10. F	11. T	12. T	13. F	14. F	15. F	16. T
17. F	18. F	19. F	20. F	21. T	22. T	23. T	24. F
25. T	26. T	27. T					

Unit 3

1. T	2. F	3. T	4. F	5. T	6. T	7. F	8. T
9. F	10. F	11. F	12. F	13. F	14. T	15. F	16. F
17. F	18. T	19. F	20. F	21. T	22. T	23. F	

Unit 4

1. T	2. T	3. F	4. F	5. T	6. F	7. F	8. T
9. F	10. F	11. F	12. F	13. T	14. F	15. T	16. F
17. F	18. F	19. T	20. T	21. T	22. T		

Unit 5

1. T	2. F	3. T	4. F	5. F	6. F	7. T	8. F
9. T	10. F	11. T	12. F	13. F	14. F	15. F	16. T
17. F	18. T	19. F	20. F	21. F	22. F	23. T	24. T
25. F							

Unit 6

1. T	2. F	3. F	4. T	5. F	6. F	7. F	8. T
9. T	10. F	11. T	12. F	13. F	14. F	15. T	16. F
17. F	18. F	19. T	20. T				

Unit 7

1. T	2. F	3. T	4. F	5. F	6. F	7. F	8. T
9. F	10. F	11. F	12. F	13. T	14. T	15. F	16. T
17. F	18. F	19. T	20. T	21. T	22. F	23. T	24. T
25. F							

Unit 8

1. F	2. F	3. T	4. T	5. F	6. F	7. T	8. F
9. T	10. T	11. T	12. T	13. T	14. T	15. F	16. F
17. F	18. T	19. F	20. T	21. F	22. F	23. T	

Unit 9

1. F	2. T	3. F	4. T	5. F	6. F	7. F	8. F
9. T	10. F	11. T	12. F	13. F	14. F	15. F	16. F
17. T	18. T	19. F	20. F	21. F	22. T		

Unit 10

1. F	2. T	3. T	4. F	5. F	6. F	7. F	8. T
9. T	10. T	11. F	12. T	13. T	14. T	15. F	16. T
17. T	18. F	19. T	20. T	21. F	22. F	23. T	

Unit 11

1. F	2. T	3. T	4. F	5. T	6. F	7. F	8. T
9. F	10. T	11. F	12. F	13. T	14. F	15. T	16. T
17. F	18. T	19. F	20. T	21. T	22. F	23. F	

Unit 12

1. T	2. T	3. T	4. T	5. T	6. F	7. T	8. F
9. F	10. T	11. F	12. T	13. F	14. T	15. T	16. F
17. F	18. T	19. F	20. T	21. F	22. T	23. F	24. T

Unit 13

1. F	2. T	3. F	4. F	5. T	6. T	7. F	8. F
9. T	10. T	11. F	12. F	13. T	14. F	15. T	16. T
17. T	18. T	19. F	20. F				

Unit 14

1. F	2. T	3. F	4. T	5. T	6. T	7. T	8. T
9. T	10. F	11. T	12. T	13. F	14. T	15. T	16. F
17. T	18. F	19. F	20. T	21. T	22. T	23. F	24. F
25. T	26. F	27. T	28. F	29. T	30. T	31. F	32. F
33. T	34. T	35. F	36. F	37. T	38. F	39. T	40. F
41. T	42. F	43. F	44. F	45. T	46. F		

Unit 15

1. T	2. F	3. T	4. F	5. F	6. F	7. T	8. T
9. F	10. F	11. F	12. F	13. T	14. T	15. F	16. T
17. F	18. F	19. T	20. T	21. T	22. F	23. F	24. T
25. F	26. T	27. T	28. T	29. T	30. F	31. T	32. F
33. T	34. F	35. F	36. F	37. T	38. T	39. T	40. F
41. F	42. F	43. T	44. T				

ANSWERS TO MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS

Unit 1

1. c	2. b	3. d	4. c	5. c	6. c	7. c	8. d
9. d	10. c	11. a	12. d	13. d			

Unit 2

1. d	2. d	3. a	4. b	5. d	6. d	7. c	8. a
9. d	10. a	11. c	12. d	13. a	14. a	15. c	

Unit 3

1. a	2. d	3. c	4. a	5. c	6. c	7. d	8. b
9. d	10. c	11. c	12. c	13. d			

Unit 4

1. b	2. d	3. c	4. c	5. a	6. b	7. d	8. b
9. a	10. d	11. a	12. a	13. c			

Unit 5

1. d	2. a	3. c	4. a	5. c	6. c	7. d	8. a
9. c	10. a	11. d	12. d	13. d	14. b	15. c	

Unit 6

1. d	2. a	3. c	4. c	5. c	6. d	7. d	8. d
9. a	10. d	11. c	12. c	13. a	14. d		

Unit 7

1. d	2. d	3. c	4. d	5. b	6. c	7. d	8. d
9. b	10. b	11. a	12. d	13. d	14. a	15. b	

Unit 8

1. a	2. c	3. d	4. a	5. d	6. c	7. c	8. b
9. c	10. c	11. a	12. c	13. d	14. b	15. c	

Unit 9

1. c	2. b	3. b	4. d	5. a	6. c	7. c	8. b
9. a	10. b	11. c	12. d	13. b			

Unit 10

1. b	2. d	3. a	4. b	5. c	6. c	7. a	8. a
9. c	10. d	11. a	12. b	13. c	14. d	15. b	

Unit 11

1. b	2. c	3. a	4. c	5. d	6. d	7. c	8. d
9. b	10. d	11. a	12. a	13. a	14. c	15. c	

Unit 12

1. b	2. c	3. b	4. c	5. d	6. a	7. c	8. d
9. d	10. b	11. b	12. c	13. a	14. c		

Unit 13

1. a	2. a	3. c	4. c	5. b	6. a	7. c	8. a
9. b	10. c	11. d	12. c				

Unit 14

1. c	2. d	3. a	4. d	5. c	6. a	7. c	8. b
9. c	10. b	11. c	12. c	13. b	14. d	15. c	16. c
17. c	18. b	19. a	20. d	21. b	22. d	23. c	24. c
25. b							

Unit 15

1. c	2. b	3. c	4. a	5. c	6. a	7. b	8. b
9. b	10. a	11. d	12. a	13. d	14. d	15. d	16. c
17. c	18. c	19. c	20. c				